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THE PANJAB PAST AND PRESENT

Vol. XXXXIII, Part-I

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GENDER EQUALITY IN BUDDHISM : AN ENIGMA SHROUDED IN AMBIVALENCE

Gagandip Cheema*

Susan Brownell Anthony, a prominent American Civil Rights leader, raised the question of gender equality in the nineteenth century by asking for women suffrage. Considering gender equality as a human right, the United Nations has recognized the principle of equality and freedom to all women. During the last hundred years, women's participation in the economic, social and political life has been steadily increasing. Though much has been accomplished, gender equality is yet to be achieved in full. The birth of a girl child is still generally mourned. Now a days, female infanticide has taken the shape of female foeticide due to advancement in medical science. According to an article published in the British medical journal, *The Lancet*, and estimates formed by P.M. Kulkarni, a renowned demographer, about twelve million female fetuses have been aborted between 1980 and 2010.¹ Here, we must pause and look at the question of gender equality from the Buddhist perspective.

Buddhism flourished in the Punjab for more than a thousand years after the *mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha in 483 B.C. During that period, a galaxy of Buddhist scholars and thinkers like Nagasena, Ashvaghosha, Asanga and Vasubandhu enriched the thought and culture of north-western India. The Punjab formed an integral part of the kingdoms of Buddhist kings like Asoka, Milinda, Kanishka and Harsha. Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim who was in India for fourteen years from 630 to 643 A.D., visited some of the cities of the Punjab like Chinapatti (modern Patti in Amritsar district), Jalandhar and Satadru (Sanghol) where he saw a number of Buddhist viharas. Chinapatti was the winter residence of Kanishka's Chinese guests.

The Buddha was born in an age when the patriarchal Brahmanical society had assigned a subservient status to women. Supreme authority was vested in the husband; the wife's position was one of honourable subordination. She was considered inferior to man in intelligence, education and experience

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1. *The Sunday Tribune*, March 11, 2012.

of the world. It was the chivalrous duty of the stronger sex to protect women who were considered incapable of standing on their own. Manu, the law-giver, ordained that the father ought to protect a woman when she is a maiden, the husband when she is married, and the sons when her husband is no more; a woman ought not to be independent. Women must be always under the 'leading strings of men.' 'Women deserve no independence' was Manu's view. By depriving women of religious rights and access to spiritual life, he had reduced their social status to the level of *sudras*, the lowest of the four castes.² Like *sudras*, women were prohibited from reading the sacred texts. They could neither worship nor perform sacrifices on their own. A woman could attain salvation not through any merit of her own, but only through obedience to her husband. She was taught that a husband, even one devoid of good qualities, should be worshipped as a god.³ Having thus denied her any kind of spiritual and intellectual merit, Manu lent support to the myth that all women were sinful and prone to evil. "Neither shame, nor decorum, nor honesty, nor timidity," says Manu, "is the cause of women's chastity, but the want of suitor alone."⁴ She should, therefore, be kept under constant vigilance. The birth of a girl child was considered ominous and calamitous as it was believed that only a son could perform the funeral rites to ensure the future happiness of the deceased. The custom was so widespread that a wife without sons could be superseded by a second or even a third wife; or even be turned out of the house.⁵

It was in such patriarchal order governed by Manu's Code that the Buddha launched a campaign for the liberation of the Indian women. He condemned the caste structure dominated by the Brahmins and excessive ritualism and sacrifices. The Buddha did not subscribe to the current belief that the birth of a daughter was a cause for lamentation. When Pasendi, the king of Kosala, came grieving that his queen, Malika, had given birth to a daughter, the Buddha consoled him with these words,

"A woman, O king, may prove
Even better than a man:
She, becoming wise and virtuous,

2. Altekar, A.S., *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, From Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, Motilal Banarsidas, 2nd ed. 1959, reprint 1983, pp.93,328,329,354.

3. Buhler, George, 'Law of Manu', trans. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 25, Oxford, 1866, p. 10.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p.81.

A faithful wife devoted to the in-laws,
 May give birth to a son
 Who may become a hero, ruler of the land:
 The son of such a blessed woman
 May even rule a wide realm.”⁶

It was undoubtedly a revolutionary statement of his times. The Buddha, the first emancipator of women and promoter of a democratic way of life tried to bring equality between man and woman who constitute two complimentary units of a single whole. A marital relationship should be reciprocal with mutual rights and obligations. In *Sigalovada Sutta*, the Buddha has laid down the duties of husband and wife as under,

“In five ways should a wife --- be ministered to by her husband: by respect, by courtesy, by faithfulness, by handing over authority to her, by providing her with ornaments. In these five ways does the wife minister to her husband — love him, her duties are well performed by hospitality to kin of both by faithfulness, by watching over the goods he brings and by skill and industry in discharging all business.”⁷

So, Buddha’s injunctions are bilateral and marriage is a contract between equals. The equal burden of responsibility and duty laid on both husband and wife is the hallmark of Buddha’s attitude to the role of woman in the family life. In later *Jatakas*, it is mentioned that women who live in fear of their husbands are not true wives.⁸ In 1878, Lieutenant General Albert Fytche, late Chief Commissioner of British Burma and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India wrote,

“Unlike the distrustful and suspicious Hindus and Mohammadans, woman holds among Buddhists a position Of perfect freedom and independence. She is, with them, not the mere slave of passion, but has equal rights and is the recognized and duly honoured helpmate of man, and in fact bears a more prominent share in the transaction of the more ordinary affairs of life than in the case perhaps with any other people, either eastern or western .”⁹

6. Quoted by Holmer, I.B. in *Women in Early Buddhist Literature*, Wheel Publication, No. 30, Colombo, 1961, pp. 8-9.

7. Davids, C.A.F.Rhys, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part-3, pp. 181-182.

8. Nakai, Patti, *Women in Buddhism*, Part-1, www.livingdharma.org/LivingDharma.

9. Fytche, Lt.Gen.Albert, *Burma Past and Present*, Vol. 2, London, 1878, p. 75.

In 1928, Sir Charles Bell, British Political Representative in Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim observed that in Buddhist countries women held a remarkably good position. In such countries women were not kept in seclusion as were Indian women. They frequently mixed with the other sex and were at ease with men and could hold their own as well as any women in the world. He further remarked that Burma, Ceylon and Tibet exhibited the same picture.¹⁰ The free social intermingling between Buddhist men and women of Sri Lanka in the seventeenth century surprised Robert Knox, a British sailor, who remarked that the men were not jealous of their wives who frequently talked with any men in the presence of their husbands.¹¹

In Buddhist society, a woman has the same rights as her husband to dissolve the marriage bond and to remarry. A woman can demand divorce if her husband ill-treats her, if he cannot support her, if associating with other women he squanders his property upon them or if he commits other improper and degrading acts such as stealing, lying or drinking intoxicating liquor. *Lakaraja lo Sirita* permits the remarriage of women after separation from their spouses.¹² In Buddhist literature, some cases of divorce and remarriage are recorded. A woman named Kana refused to return to her husband when she learnt that her husband had contracted a second marriage; she was taken in adoption by a certain king who married her off to a nobleman. The nun Isidasi had several divorces in her early life. She was first married to a merchant in Ayodhya who abandoned her within a month. Then her father got her married to another person who also disliked her and sent her back in an equally short time. Her third marriage did not last even a fortnight.¹³ Robert Knox, a Buddhist sailor who spent nineteen years in Kandy kingdom from 1660 to 1679, has left a fascinating account of Buddhist marriage customs. He wrote,

“But their marriages are of little force and validity for if they disagree and mislike one another they part without disgrace — then she is fit for another man, being as they account never the worse for wearing.”¹⁴

10. Bell, Charles, *The People of Tibet*, Oxford, 1928, p. 147.

11. Knox, Robert, *A Historical Relation of Ceylon*, Dehiwala : Tisara Frakasakaya, 1966, p. 149.

12. Loubere, Simon de la, *The Kingdom of Siam*, London, 1968, p. 53.

The Dutch, who were ruling the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka, wished to codify the laws and customs of the island. The Dutch Governor Imam William Faick (1765-83) sent a questionnaire to the eminent Buddhist monks in Kandy and recorded their answers in a document called the *Lokraja lo Sirita*.

13. Altekar, A.S., *op. cit.*, p.85.

14. Knox, Robert, *op. cit.*, p.149.

Death is a natural and inevitable end to life. In Buddhist thought, a woman neither suffers moral degradation on account of her widowhood nor is her social status altered in any way. She is not required to advertise her widowhood by shaving her head, or discarding her ornaments, or practicing self-mortification.¹⁵ Observing the attitude of widows, Robert Knox comments,

"These women are of a very strong, courageous spirit, taking nothing very much to heart, mourning more for fashion than affection, never overwhelmed either with grief or love. And when their husbands are dead, all they care is where to get others, which they cannot long be without."¹⁶

The remarriage of widows is also recorded in Buddhist literature. In *Nanda Jataka*, we come across a husband shuddering at the prospect of his youthful wife marrying again after his death, and not giving any share of his property to his son. In the *Vessantara Jataka*, however, we find a dying husband urging his wife to remarry and not to waste her youth.¹⁷ Daughters of the Buddhist families enjoy the right of inheritance also. In *Therigatha*, we come across an interesting story of a mother trying to dissuade her daughter, Sundari, from becoming a nun because she had become a full heir to her father's extensive state as the latter had become a monk; she should, therefore, think of marriage and pleasure and not of nunnery and penance.¹⁸

The Buddha believed that Dhamma had no gender. When either man or woman clung to gender identity, that person was in bondage. In the *Cullavagga* section of *Vinaya Pitaka*, in which the Buddha's statements are recorded, he clarified the fact that women could also get *nirvana* because men and women had equal potential for spiritual enlightenment.¹⁹ When king Siddhodana, the Buddha's father, passed away, his step-mother and aunt, Mahapajapati, together with five hundred royal women went to the Buddha in Kapilvastu to seek his permission to join the Sangha. When the Buddha showed reluctance, Mahapajapati and her companions shaved their heads, donned the yellow robes of the monks, walked barefoot to where the Buddha lived and

15. Holmer, I.B., *op. cit.*, p. 72.

16. Knox, Robert, *op. cit.*, p.149.

17. Altekar, A.S., *op. cit.*, p.152.

18. *Ibid.*, pp.236-237.

Therigatha or *The Psalms of the Sisters* is a unique literature consisting entirely of verses attributed to seventy three women who became spiritually realized *theris* (nun elders).

19. Murcott, Susan, *The First Buddhist Women : Translations and Commentary on the Therigatha*, 1991, Parallax Press, p.16.

rallied outside. It was for the first time in recorded history that women marched in procession demanding equal rights. Mahapajapati sat by the entrance weeping, her feet swollen and bleeding from the journey. Ananda, the Buddha's cousin and attendant argued with the Buddha on behalf of these women. The Buddha continued to refuse the request. Then Ananda asked, "Are you not giving permission because women do not have the same spiritual potential as men to become enlightened?" The Buddha said, "No, Ananda, women are equal to men in their potential to achieve enlightenment."²⁰ This statement opened a new horizon in the realm of religion because the potential of both men and women for enlightenment was considered at par for the first time.

Scholars have theorized some possibilities for the Buddha's reluctance to permit women to join the Sangha, which are as under,

1. Members of the Sangha had to live on food collected as alms from door to door in the villages. Sometimes, they received very little. Maybe, out of compassion the Buddha could not imagine Mahapajapati and other royal women begging and facing such hardships.
2. Initially, there were no monasteries and the monastics lived under trees and in caves. So, under such circumstances, the Buddha feared that those women might be subjected to rape, assault and sexual harassment.
3. The Buddha's thoughts were still conditioned because he had never imagined women joining the Sangha by renouncing household life. Moreover, he did not want to offend the patriarchal society which would never approve of the ordination of women.
4. The Buddha feared that the presence of women in the Sangha would weaken it and shorten its lifespan to 500 years.
5. The Buddha's efforts to elevate women socially had already incited a lot of criticism from the laity that he was destroying the family units. So, to allow five hundred women to join the Sangha implied that he was going to destroy five hundred families.²¹

In spite of his reluctance, the Buddha allowed women to join the Sangha. According to *Theravada* tradition, *bhikkhuni* (in Pali) or *bhiksuni* (in Sanskrit) Order of a fully ordained female Buddhist nuns came into being about five years after the *bhikkhu* Order of monks. However, the admission of

20. Kabilsingh, Dr. Chatsuman, *The History of the Bhikkhuni Sangha*, <http://www.thubtenchodron.org/BuddhistNunsMonasticLife/LifeasWesternBuddhistNun>.

21. *Ibid.*

women to the Order was rather on humiliating terms. They were forced to accept eight rules, i.e. the *Garudhamma*, which unequivocally upheld the superiority of the monks.²² The *Garudhammas*, or eight grave rules for nuns, not required for monks, were as under –

1. A *bhikkhuni* (nun) even if she had been in the Order for a hundred years must greet respectfully, rise up from her seat, and salute with joined palms.
2. A *bhikkhuni* must reside within six hours of travelling distance from the monastery where *bhikkhus* reside for advice.
3. On *upasatha* (Observance) day, a *bhikkhuni* should consult the *bhikkhus*.
4. A *bhikkhuni* must not spend the rains in a residence where there were no monks.
5. A *bhikkhuni* must live her life by both the Orders, and after two years of probation she could obtain higher ordination.
6. A *bhikkhuni* breaking any of the rules must undergo *manatta* discipline, i.e. penance for half a month before both the Orders.
7. A *bhikkhuni* could not scold a *bhikkhu*.
8. A *bhikkhuni* could not advise a *bhikkhu*.²³

While formulating these rules, whatever the intentions of the Buddha, he tried to keep the nuns in a subservient position. In March 1993, in Dharamsala, the English Theravadan monk Ven. Ajahn Amaro said, "Seeing the nuns not receiving the respect given to the monks is very painful. It is like

22. De Waraja, Lorna, "Buddhist Women in India and Pre-Colonial Sri Lanka", in *Buddhist Women Across Cultures*, ed. By Karma Lekshe Tsomo, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 2000.

23. Nakai, Patti, *op. cit.*

The word *upasatha* is derived from Sanskrit word *upavastha* which refers to the pre-Buddhist fast day that preceded Vedic sacrifice. In the Buddha's time, some ascetics used the new and full moon as opportunities to present their teachings. The *upasatha* day was instituted by the Buddha at the request of king Bimbisara, and the Buddha instructed the monks to give teachings to the lay people on this day, and told the monks to recite the *Patimokkha* every second *upasatha* day. *Patimokkha Sutta* (Rules) is the name given to a set of two hundred and twenty seven rules to be observed by members of the Buddhist Order. The rules are not ethical but mainly economic regulating the behaviour of the members of the Orders towards one another in respect of clothes, dwellings, furniture, etc. held in common. The rules are divided into two parts : one for the monks (*Bhikkhu Patimokkha*) and the other for the nuns (*Bhikkhuni Patimokkha*). The rules were recited at the gatherings of the Order on *upasatha* days (the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month).

having a spear in your heart.”²⁴ Dr. Chatsuman Kabilsingh in her article *The History of the Bhikkhuni Sangha* has tried to defend the Buddha by stressing the point that the nuns were subordinated in the sense of being younger sisters to elder brothers and not being slaves to masters.²⁵ Now the question arises that if the Buddha believed in gender equality, why he never ever tried to project senior nuns as elder sisters and new entrant monks as younger brothers. If seniority depended upon the number of years a person had spent in the Order, then why a *bhikkhuni*, even if she had been ordained for a century, had always to pay respect to any *bhikkhu* however junior the latter might have been. A senior *bhikkhuni* was not supposed to advise or admonish a junior *bhikkhu*, while on the other hand, a junior monk could do such things. The implication of these rules indicates two possibilities –

one,

though publicly the Buddha talked of gender equality, yet personally he seemed to believe that men were spiritually superior to women, and

secondly,

in spite of his broadmindedness, perhaps the Buddha could not dare to completely ignore public opinion. Even, *Ajahn Sujato*, an early text, corroborates the fact that the most severe of the *Garudhammas*, that every nun must bow to every monk, was instituted by the Buddha because of the customs of the times.

A careful analysis of the *Aggana Sutta*, a record of the teachings of Gautam Buddha, shows women as responsible for the downfall of the human race.²⁶ However, an incident in the *Vinaya Pitaka* indicates something else. It recounts the story of six monks who lifted up their robes to show their thighs to nuns.²⁷ This action of monks shows that lust in general, rather than women, was the cause of the downfall of human race. Later on, when the Buddha learnt about this incident, he amended the rule that a nun was not to bow to every monk, but only to one who was worthy of respect.²⁸

24. The Role of Women in Buddhism, see section *The Changing Status of Women* and also *The Plight of Western Monastics*, <http://www.khandra.net/Buddhism/women.htm>.

25. Kabilsingh, Dr. Chatsuman, *op. cit.*

26. “*Aggana Sutta : On Knowledge of Beginnings of Humankind*” (PDF) http://www.urbandharma.org/pdf/Aggana_Sutta.pdf.

27. Kabilsingh, Dr. Chatsuman, *op. cit.*

28. *Ibid.*

The life of the nuns in the Sangha was quite hard. While asserting their superior position like men in general, the monks tried to subordinate nuns by asking them to clean the monastery and to wash their dishes, robes and rugs.²⁹ In spite of such attitude of monks, some of the nuns brilliantly proved their talent in the study and practice of the *Dhamma*. The eminent saintly *bhikkhunis* of the times who were very learned and were expert in preaching the *Dhamma* were Mahapajapati, Sukha, Patacara, Khema, Dhanmadinna, Uppalavanna, etc. *The Psalms of the Sisters (Therigatha)* contains numerous stanzas that clearly express the feelings of joy experienced by saintly *bhikkhunis* at their ability to enter the Order and realize the Truth.³⁰ Mahakassappa, who presided over the First Buddhist Council, and the other *bhikkhus* of that time were jealous of the *bhikkhunis* being more popular and doing more teaching and social work than the *bhikkhus*. That is why at the First Buddhist Council, which was held about three months after the Buddha's *mahaparinibbana* (483 B.C., his passing away), *bhikkhus* compelled Ananda to confess his mistake of persuading the Buddha to allow women to join the Sangha.³¹

In fact, gender equality in Buddhism is a somewhat ambiguous issue. Though the Buddha talked of women's potentiality for spiritual enlightenment, yet in *Bahudhatuka Sutta* (based on Gautam Buddha's statements), it is recorded that there could never be a female Buddha. While interpreting the Buddha's statement in *Majjhima Nikaya* of *Bahudhatuka Sutta*, Prof. Heng-Ching Shih writes that according to Buddha, it is impossible that a woman could be "the perfectly rightfully Enlightened One" (Buddha), "the Universal Monarch" (Cakravartin), "the King of Gods" (Sakra), "the King of Death" (Mara) or "Brahma" (Brahma King).³²

Diana Paul believes that the traditional view in early Buddhism is that "women are inferior."³³ That is why in Buddhist prayers, all women recite, "I pray that I may be reborn as a male in a future existence."³⁴ Rita Gross believes

29. *Ibid.*

30. Bhaskar, V.S., *Faith and Philosophy of Buddhism*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2009, p.249.

31. Kabilsingh, Dr. Chatuman, *op. cit.*

32. Shih, Prof. Heng-Ching, *Women in Zen Buddhism*, Kalpaz Publications, 2009, p.249.

33. Paul, Diana Y. Wilson Frances, "Traditional Views of Women", *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahayana Tradition*, University of California Press, 1985, p.40.

34. Quoted by Melford E. Sprio, in *Kinship and Marriage in Burma: A Cultural and Psychodynamic Analysis*, London, 1977, p.260.

that "a misogynist strain is found in early Indian Buddhism."³⁵

To conclude, we can say that while a positive attitude towards femininity in respect of marriage contract, divorce, right to inherit, own and dispose of property is inherent in Buddhism, the concept of male superiority also lingers so as to render the idea of gender equality in Buddhism only a half-truth.

35. Gross, Rita M., *Buddhism After Patriarchy : A Feminist History, Analysis and Reconstruction of Buddhism*, State University of New York, p.43.

GURU GRANTH SAHIB IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Karamjit K. Malhotra*

The Sikhs consider the *Granth Sahib* as the highest authority within the community, and it plays a central role in the devotional life and rituals of the Sikhs. Our understanding of the broad outline of the making of *Guru Granth Sahib* has improved a great deal through recent textual studies.¹ However, these studies have also raised a few controversial issues. I thought of concentrating on the eighteenth century sources in an effort to resolve the issues of the doctrine and its importance. The Persian works of the century have little to offer by way of evidence on this theme. The Gurmukhi literature, by contrast, has much to say about the *Granth Sahib*. The European writers of the late eighteenth century also have something to say. I have analysed the sources of the eighteenth century to examine the evolving position of the *Granth Sahib* in the changing socio-political context of the eighteenth century which bridges the period of the Gurus with that of modern Sikhism.

Among the Gurmukhi works there are seven manuals of the Sikh way of life, generally called the *Rahitnamas*: the *Prashan Uttar*, the *Rahitnama* of Prahlad Singh, the *Prem Sumarag*, the *Sakhi Rahit Patshahi 10*, the *Rahitnama* associated with Chaupa Singh, and the *Rahitnamas* of Daya Singh and Desa Singh. There are five works in praise of the Gurus, generally called the *Gurbilas*: Sainapat's *Gursobha*, Koer Singh's *Gurbilas Patshahi 10*, Kesar Singh Chhibber's *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian ka*, Sarup Das Bhalla's *Mahima Prakash* and Sukha Singh's *Gurbilas Patshahi 10*. There are two works in the *Sakhi* tradition, giving episodes of the lives of the Gurus: *Parchian Patshahi Dasvin Kian* and the *B-40 Janamsakhi*. There is one *Var*, or heroic poem, called the *Var Bhagauti* of the second Bhai Gurdas. Among the early European writers we have Charles Wilkins, George Forster, John Griffiths,

* Assistant Professor, Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala.

1. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of the Sikh Scripture*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003 (reprint). Pashaura Singh, *The Guru Granth Sahib: Canon, Meaning and Authority*, New Delhi: OUP, 2000.

Captain Mathews and John Malcolm, all of them writing between 1770 and 1810.

In Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha*, completed soon after the death of Guru Gobind Singh,² it is stated that a day before his death, the Singhs asked him about his successor. They were told that besides the Khalsa the eternal *shabad-bani* shall be the true Guru.³ Significantly, in the *Rahitnama* known as the *Prashan-Uttar*, which was composed by Bhai Nand Lal in 1694-95, Guru Gobind Singh states that a Sikh who wishes to see the Guru would have his *darshan* in the *Granth* as the form of the Guru.⁴ In this context, a logical statement is made in the *Rahitnama* of Prahlad Singh which is placed before the *Sri Gur Sobha* that, 'all the Sikhs are instructed to regard the *Granth* as the Guru'.⁵

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the *Sakhi Rahit Patshahi 10*, which too appears to be earlier than Sainapat's work, *shabad* is equated with the *bani*, and the verse of Guru Ram Das that 'Bani is the Guru and the Guru is Bani' is quoted.⁶ The *Prem Sumarag*, which apparently began to be composed during the lifetime of Guru Gobind Singh and was completed soon after his death, refers to *shabad-bani* as the Guru: 'He who wishes to hear the Guru should read the *shabad*'.⁷

2. For a discussion of the date of Sainapat's work, see Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times', *Journal of Punjab Studies* (Special Issue on Guru Gobind Singh), vol.15 nos.1-2 (Spring-Fall, 2008), p.252.
3. Sainapat, *Sri Gur Sobha* (Punjabi), ed. Ganda Singh, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967, p.128.
4. *Prashan-Uttar* in Bhai Nand Lal *Granthavali* (Punjabi), ed. Ganda Singh, Malacca (Malaysia): Sant Sohan Singh, 1968, p.192.
5. *Prahlad Singh Rahitnama*, in *Rahitname* (Punjabi), ed. Piara Singh Padam, Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1995, 6th impression, p.67.
6. *Sakhi Rahit Patshahi 10* appended to *The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama*, tr. and ed. W.H. McLeod, Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 1987, pp. 133,135-7.
7. For the text see, *Prem Sumarag Granth arthat Khalsai Jivan-Jach* (Punjabi), ed. Randhir Singh, Jalandhar: New Book Company, 1965 (2nd edn.), pp. 6, 18.
There has been intense scholarly debate regarding the date of this work which ranges from the first decade of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. See, for example, Randhir Singh, ed., *Prem Sumarag Granth*, Introduction; Mohan Singh, *An Introduction to Punjabi Literature*, Amritsar, 1951, pp. 111-42; J.S. Grewal, 'The Prem Sumarag: A Theory of Sikh Social Order', *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, Patiala, 1965, pp. 100-11; Surjit Hans, 'Prem Sumarag: A Modern Forgery', *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, Patiala, 1982, pp. 180-8; W.H. McLeod, 'Reflections on *Prem Sumarag*', *Journal of Punjab Studies*, vol.14, no.1 (2007), p. 124.

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Finally, it may be noted that in a manuscript completed at Nander in 1709, which is now known as *Parchian Patshahi Dasvin Kian*, the title used for the Sikh scripture is 'Guru Granth'.⁸ Thus, in the evidence coming down from the years between 1694 and 1710 we have a clear equation of *shabad* with *bani*, of *shabad-bani* with the *Granth*, and of the *Granth* with the Guru. That the doctrine of Guru Granth was well recognized throughout the eighteenth century is confirmed by the contemporary texts like Koer Singh's *Gurbilas*, Kesar Singh Chhibber's *Bansavalinama* and Sarup Das Bhalla's *Mahima Prakash*.⁹

An important insight into the crystallization of the doctrine of Guru Granth is provided by Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* (1751) in which we come upon the situation in which Guru Gobind Singh decided to remove the mediacy of the Masands. One of the charges against them was that they did not pay due respect to the *Granth* and regarded themselves as the Guru's equal. Guru Gobind Singh then instructed the Sikhs to regard the 'Guru Granth' as God. Placing five *paisas* and a coconut before the *Granth*, he is reported to have said: 'Whoever wishes to speak to the Guru should read the *Granth*, and gain peace; there is no other equal to it'. Koer Singh reiterates that an essential part of the *rahit* of the Sikhs is firm faith in the *Guru Granth*, with no regard for any other scripture.¹⁰

Kesar Singh Chhibber (1769) makes a rather complex but very significant statement. He refers to the episode in which Bhai Mani Singh is said to have combined the *Adi Granth* and *Dasven Patshah da Granth* into one volume. It was believed by the Sikhs that due to this act, which was

[Contd. from last page]

In a recent analysis of this work, Professor Grewal reiterates that the *Prem Sumarag* is an early eighteenth century work. He supports the date with a rigorous analysis of the text which makes his argument more convincing than that of other scholars. See, J.S. Grewal, *History, Literature and Identity: Four Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, New Delhi, 2011, pp. 208-11.

8. Sewa Das, *Parchian*, tr. and ed. Kharak Singh and Gurtej Singh, Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1995. For the statement on the date of the *Parchian*, see Mann, 'Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times', pp. 252-3.
9. Ganda Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh's Death at Nanded: An Examination of Succession Theories*, Faridkot: Guru Nanak Foundation, Bathinda District, 1972, pp. 23, 26-7, 29.
10. Koer Singh, *Gurbilas Patshahi 10* (Punjabi), ed. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1968, pp. 130, 283-4, 287. There has also been some debate regarding the date of this work. However, 1751 has been accepted more generally because of the internal and external evidence marshalled by Ashok.

regarded as sacrilegious, Bhai Mani Singh's body was later on cut into pieces. Chhibber states that in 1698 the Sikhs had requested Guru Gobind Singh to combine the two *Granth*s into one volume, but the Guru made it clear that the *Adi Granth* was the Guru and the other *Granth* was 'our sport' (*khed*). Therefore, the two should remain separate.¹¹ Furthermore, when the time of Guru Gobind Singh's departure from this world came close, the Sikhs asked him with folded hands: 'What would happen to your *sangat*', and the Guru responded with the words, 'the *Granth* is the Guru and take refuge in Akal'.¹² Chhibber suggests on his own that the two *Granth*s being brothers should be regarded as the Guru. Yet, Chhibber's reference to the *Adi Granth* as 'the *Tikka*' (the heir-apparent) carries the implication that the *Adi Granth* was to be regarded as far more authoritative. Finally, in his own times, says Chhibber unequivocally: 'the *Granth Sahib* is our Guru'. We may be sure that here 'Granth Sahib' in the singular is the *Adi Granth*. Further, the rulers of the time may not listen to what he says but 'they must follow the *Granth*'. Chhibber explains that when Guru Gobind Singh was alive he could provide answers to all questions. Now the *Granth Sahib* performed that function. A true Sikh of the Guru is only he who regards the injunctions of the *Granth* as true. He who follows the Guru's instructions becomes a member of the Guru's House.¹³

Sarup Das Bhalla (1776) states that, when the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh asked him about his successor, he declared that the 'ten physical forms of the Guru have come to an end. In my place now regard the *Granth Sahib* as the Guru. He who wishes to speak to me should read the *Aad Granth Sahib*. This is the way to converse with me'. Soon afterwards the Guru expired and his body was cremated. Henceforth, '*Granth Ji* became the Guru in place of *Sri Guru Ji Sahib*'.¹⁴

On the whole, the Sikh literature of the period leaves no doubt that the doctrine of *Guru-Granth* had become well established in the eighteenth century. The '*Granth*' was equated with the *Adi Granth*. Kesar Singh Chhibber is the only Sikh writer of the eighteenth century to mention the book of the Tenth King (*Dasven Patshah da Granth*) as very close in status to *Adi Granth*.

11. Kesar Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka* (Punjabi), ed. Rattan Singh Jaggi (*Parkh*, vol.II), Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1972, p.136. This work is generally placed in 1769.

12. *Ibid.*, pp.163, 198, 215.

13. *Ibid.*, pp.221-2.

14. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahima Prakash* (Punjabi), ed. Gobind Singh Lamba and Khazan Singh, Patiala: Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, 1971, p.892.

But even he seems to be advocating its case and not making a factual statement. Some modern historians of the Sikhs who are inclined to think that both the *Adi Granth* and the *Dasam Granth* had come to be regarded as the Guru by the beginning of the nineteenth century, if not earlier, have not seen all this evidence.¹⁵

A crucial importance is attached by these historians to the evidence of John Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, first published in 1812. John Malcolm was the first British writer to pay considerable attention to the religion of the Sikhs. The last section of his book is devoted to this subject. He talks of the *Adi Granth* and its message and states that the religious tenets and usages of the Sikhs continued as they had been established by Guru Nanak till the time of Guru Gobind Singh. Even the latter did not change the fundamental principles of the faith but he changed the sacred usages and civil habits of his followers to give them an entirely new character. In this context, Malcolm refers to the Book of the Tenth King (*Dasven Padshah ka Granth*) which was 'as Holy as the *Adi Granth*' in the eyes of the Sikhs. Malcolm then says that verses from both the *Granth*s were recited at the time of preparing the sacred water for baptism (*pahul*). Also, verses from both the *Granth*s were read every morning and every evening. Malcolm goes on to add that when Guru Gobind

15. W.H. McLeod, for example, approvingly quotes John Malcolm's statement on the procedure followed in the general assembly of the Khalsa (Sarbat Khalsa) in adopting resolutions (*gurmata*), when the *Adi Granth* and the *Dasam Granth* were reportedly placed before the chiefs and principal leaders and they all bent their heads before these scriptures. W.H. McLeod, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community*, pp.48-9. Elsewhere, McLeod refers to the *Dasam Granth* as the 'second scripture' of the Sikhs and discusses it as 'the first of their supplementary scriptures'. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 79-81. Referring to Malcolm's quotation by McLeod, Cole remarks that the assembly present acknowledged the Guruship of both the *Adi Granth* and the *Dasam Granth* as the scripture. W. Owen Cole, *The Guru in Sikhism*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1982, p.81. McLeod reiterates in a later work that during the eighteenth century the same respect was given to the *Dasam Granth* as to the *Adi Granth*. Both were regarded as 'the visibly present Guru'. *The Sikhs: History, Religion, and Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989, p.89. Harjot Oberoi clearly brackets the *Adi Granth* and the *Dasam Granth* as the Sikh scriptures which purportedly were treated at par by the 'Sanatan Sikhs' following the older Khalsa conventions. Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 90, 93, 201. Doris R. Jakobsh also states that the Sikhs held the *Dasam Granth* at par with the *Adi Granth* and she too refers to the authority of John Malcolm. Doris R. Jakobsh, *Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003, p.45.

Singh was at the point of death he exclaimed, 'wherever five Sikhs are assembled there I also shall be present'. Evidently, Malcolm does not make any reference to Guruship being vested either in the *Granth* or in the Khalsa. Nowhere in his work does he equate either the *Granth* or the *Panth* with the Guru.¹⁶

The eighteenth century *Rahitnamas* underline the importance of the *Granth Sahib* in the life of the Sikhs. In the *Rahitnama* associated with Chaupa Singh, the *Granth Sahib* occupies a central place in Sikh religious life. A Sikh of the Guru should teach *Pothi Granth Sahib Ji* and perform *kirtan* of *shabad-bani* not as a *pir* or *masand* but as a fellow Sikh. Since God resides in the *Pothi*, a Sikh of the Guru should keep himself clean while performing its reading (*path*); he should wash his hands if he has touched his nose or any other part of his body. A Sikh scribe should prepare copies of the *Granth Sahib* and give them to other Sikhs as an offering of love. A Sikh of the Guru should write and read the *Pothi* but should not sell it. He should offer it to others and receive in return whatever is voluntarily given. The sacred word is not to be sold, emphasizes Chaupa Singh. A Sikh of the Guru should respect the Gurmukhi script. The paper on which Gurmukhi script is written should not come under the feet and should not be used for making a packet. The *Granth Sahib* is installed in the *dharmshals*. It serves as the Guru for initiating a Sahajdhari Sikh through *charan-pahul*: the lectern of the *Granth Sahib* is used instead of the toe of the Guru for baptism. Some parts of the *Granth Sahib* are of special importance: the *Japuji*, the *Rahiras* and the *So-Dar*. Chaupa Singh suggests that when faced with a crisis, a Sikh of the Guru should read the entire *Japuji* five times early in the morning, request the Sikhs to pray for him and render service to them according to his means; God may bring relief. A Sikh of the Guru should live strictly in accordance with the teachings of the *Granth Sahib*.¹⁷ In his *Rahitnama* Daya Singh emphasizes the importance of

16. John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986 (first published in 1812), pp. 169-73, 182, 185-6.

17. *The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama*, pp. 57, 60, 65-6, 76-8.

The date of this *Rahitnama* also is important for our purpose. Dr McLeod places this work between 1745 and 1764. See, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, pp. 25-8. Recently, Professor G.S. Mann has placed its *rahit* part (dealing with desirable conduct) in the early eighteenth century. See, 'Sources on the study of Guru Gobind Singh Life and Times', *Journal of Punjab Studies*, vol. 15, nos. 1-2 (Spring-Fall 2008), pp. 249-50. Professor Grewal places the *rahit* part before the death of Guru Gobind Singh. He supports his argument with an analysis of the text. See, J.S. Grewal, 'The Singh Way of Life: The Rahitnamas', in *History, Literature, and Identity*, pp. 206-26.

the *Guru Granth* by stating that anyone who walks with the *Granth Sahib* over his head lives in paradise for years equal to number of steps he takes. Wherever there is *Granth ji*, there is the door to liberation.¹⁸

The eighteenth century literature leaves no doubt about the equation of the *Adi Granth* with the Guru, the visible body of the Guru. In the *Rahitnama* associated with Chaupa Singh, for example, it is recommended that after a complete reading of the *Granth Sahib*, including the '*siahi di bidh*', one should read the *Japuji* and end the reading with '*keti chhutti nal*'.¹⁹ The author of the *Prem Sumarag* talks of the *Pothi Granth* indicating that he has the *Adi Granth* in view.²⁰ Bhai Gurdas the second refers to the *Granth* authenticated by Guru Arjan, making it absolutely clear that the reference is to the *Adi Granth*.²¹ Sarup Das Bhalla explicitly uses the phrase *Adi Granth Sahib* as the *Guru Granth*.²² Thus, during the eighteenth century, it appears to be assumed generally that the *Adi Granth* is the Guru.

Furthermore, the writers of the period not only equate the *Adi Granth* with the Guru but also underscore its importance for the Sikhs in their personal and collective religious life. They underline its importance also for the ethical conduct of the Sikhs. In the *Rahitnama* associated with Chaupa Singh it is emphatically stated that the *Guru Granth Sahib* is the touchstone of desirable conduct of the Sikhs.²³ According to Daya Singh, a devout Sikh of the Guru should live in accordance with the teachings of the *Guru Granth*.²⁴

It is important to note that the eighteenth century Sikh sources ascribe a crucial role to the *Granth Sahib* in Sikh rites. The *Prem Sumarag* recommends that a newly born baby should be made to bow to the *Pothi Granth*.²⁵ For the marriage ceremony, the *Prem Sumarag* recommends that a stanza of the *Lavan*

18. Daya Singh *Rahitnama*, in *Rahitname*, p.71.

19. *The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama*, p. 76.

20. *Prem Sumarag Granth*, p. 6.

21. *Varan Bhai Gurdas*, ed. Giani Hazara Singh, Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 1962, (4th edn.), Var 41, pp. 662-73. For placing the *Var 41* ascribed to Bhai Gurdas in the lifetime of Guru Gobind Singh, see Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times', pp. 254, 280n 129. Discussing this *Var* in a recent work J.S. Grewal seems inclined to agree with Mann. J.S. Grewal, *History, Literature and Identity: Four Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 177.

22. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahima Prakash*, vol. II, p. 892.

23. *The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama*, pp. 74-8.

24. Daya Singh *Rahitnama*, in *Rahitname*, pp. 68-76.

25. *Prem Sumarag Granth*, pp. 22-3.

of Guru Ram Das should be sung on each round. Then, five *pauris* of the *Anand* should be sung and the *karah prasad* distributed.²⁶ Sainapat refers to Guru Gobind Singh's marriage before his departure for the Deccan. What is relevant for us to notice is that the singing of the *Anand* of Guru Amar Das is mentioned in this context.²⁷ According to the *Prem Sumarag* on the death of a Sikh, all men and women present should sing the *Alahnian* of Guru Nanak. There should be no wailing. God's Will should be accepted without any grief. The widow should read the *Pothi* of *shabad bani*.²⁸ Daya Singh in his *Rahitnama* insists that marriage should be conducted with the *Anand*. The *Japuji* should be recited when the corpse is being bathed. For a proper conduct of these observances it is obligatory for a Sikh to study *Gurbani*.²⁹ Sukha Singh in his *Gurbilas* (1797) says that Guru Gobind Singh instructed his followers to organize *chauki shabad* after his death.³⁰ Chaupa Singh makes a distinction between the *kesdhari* and the *sahajdhari* Sikh. The former is initiated through *khande ki pahul* and the latter through *charan-pahul*. But even in the latter case, while the *pahul* is being prepared, five *pauris* of the *Japuji* and five *pauris* of the *Anand* should be recited.³¹ Chaupa Singh recommends that the name of a child should be chosen from the *Granth Sahib*.³²

For examples of emphasis on the role of the *Adi Granth* in the religious life of the Sikhs we may further cite several Sikh and European writers. The *B-40 Janamsakhi*, compiled in 1734, emphasizes that the daily life of the Sikh began with bathing and reading of the *Pothi* before eating anything; at night, he participated in the *kirtan*; and before going to sleep he recited the *Aarti Sohila*. Apart from the individual worship the Sikhs met for congregational worship in the *dharamsal*.³³ Koer Singh recommends that the Singhs should read the *Pothi Granth* everyday. They should recite the *Japuji* and the *Rahiras*, and listen to *kirtan*. They should keep the *Guru Granth* in mind all the time and go to the *dharamsal* everyday.³⁴ Kesar Singh Chhibber says that a Sikh

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-8.

27. Sainapat, *Sri Gur Sobha*, p. 97.

28. *Prem Sumarag Granth*, pp. 79-85.

29. Daya Singh *Rahitnama*, in *Rahitname*, pp. 68-76.

30. Sukha Singh, *Gurbilas Patshahi 10*, ed., Gursharan Kaur Jaggi, Patiala: Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab 1989, p. 441.

31. *The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama*, pp. 60, 65.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

33. *Janam Sakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, ed. Piar Singh, Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1974, pp. 142-3, 106-12.

34. Koer Singh, *Gurbilas Patshahi 10*, ed. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1968, p. 130.

should love *shabad bani* and go to the *sat-sangat*.³⁵ Sukha Singh advises that the Sikhs of the Guru should appropriate nothing but the *shabad* and they should go to the *sadh-sangat* day and night.³⁶ Daya Singh is emphatic that a Sikh should go to the *dharamsal* in the morning and listen to *kirtan*, participate in the *ardas* and receive *karah prasad*. He should conduct himself well in relation to men and women present in the congregation. He should make offerings to the Guru (*Granth Sahib*). Daya Singh is particular about how the *karah-prasad* was to be prepared and distributed in the presence of *Guru Granth*.³⁷

Turning to the European sources, we may begin with Charles Wilkins who observed in Patna that the Sikh worship consisted of reading the *Granth Sahib*, singing of *shabad* to the accompaniment of a small drum and two or three cymbals. The *Granth Sahib* for this purpose was the *Adi Granth*, used for recitation and *kirtan*. The worship ended with *ardas* and the distribution of *karah prasad*.³⁸ George Forster informs us that the only objects admitted into the Sikh place of worship was the *Granth*.³⁹ John Griffiths states that the 'Granth ji' (the *Adi Granth*) was kept at a place called Amritsar where the Sikhs assembled in hundreds of thousands twice a year in April and October (at the time of Baisakhi and Diwali).⁴⁰ Captain Mathews also refers to the *Granth* installed in the Harmandir and notices that choirs assembled there at 3 o'clock in the morning and chanted hymns during the day, and till late at night.⁴¹

On the whole, we find firm evidence in the eighteenth century literary sources for the crystallization and popularity of the doctrine of *Guru-Granth*.

35. Kesar Singh Chhibber, *Bansavalinama Dasvan Patshahian Ka*, p. 129.

36. Sukha Singh, *Gurbilas Patshahi 10*, pp. 179, 183.

37. Daya Singh *Rahitnama*, in *Rahitname*, pp. 68-76.

38. Charles Wilkins, 'The Sikhs and their College at Patna' (first published in 1781), in *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, ed. Ganda Singh, Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past & Present, 1962, pp. 72-3.

39. George Forster had travelled through the northern parts of India, but his Journal, written in the early 1780s, was published in 1808 as *A Journey from Bengal to England through Northern Parts of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia and into Russia (1782-1784)*, Patiala: Punjab Languages Department, 1970 (rpt.), vol. I, p. 132.

40. John Griffiths, A Memorandum on the Panjab and Kandahar from Mr (John) Griffiths to Alexander Adamson dated Surat, 17 February 1794, in Ganda Singh (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, p. 91.

41. [Captain Mathews], 'A Failed Spying Mission to Lahore', 1808, in "*Siques Tigers or Thieves*": *Eyewitness Accounts of the Sikhs (1606-1809)*, ed. Amandeep Singh Madra and Paramjeet Singh, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 237.

It is also evident that the *Adi Granth* is the Guru. In this respect, the *Dasam Granth* is not bracketed with the *Adi Granth*. In several ways the *Adi Granth* played a crucial role in the personal life of the Sikhs. Even more important was the *dharamsal* which came to be called the Gurdwara during the eighteenth century. The *Adi Granth* was the primary source of norms for Sikh ethics; its importance in Sikh rites appears to have increased very much during the eighteenth century. Lastly, this study of the eighteenth century sources unmistakably shows that in the post-Khalsa period a self-conscious community of the Sikhs was evolving around the *Granth Sahib* as the centre of their religious, social and political life.

BANDA BAHADUR IN THE LIGHT OF THE *AKHBAR-i-DARBAR-i-MUALLA* (1707-1718 A.D.)

Veena Sachdeva*

The news-letters of the Mughal court called *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* contain valuable information about the activities of Banda Bahadur and the Sikhs. An attempt has been made in this paper to analyse the news-letters relating to the Punjab of the reigns of three Mughal emperors - Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah, and Farrukh Siyar, in order to know how much does this contemporary information help us to increase our understanding of the life and times of Banda Bahadur.¹ If we compare these news-letters with the existing works on Banda Bahadur, we find that two phases of his life have attracted the attention of all the writers whether Persian, English, Indian or even Sikhs - the earlier phase when he met Guru Gobind Singh, was commissioned to go to the Punjab, occupied territories in the Sarkar of Sirhind and beyond the rivers Satluj and Jamuna, the declaration of sovereign rule, striking a coin, introducing a seal and a new *samvat*, his siege and expulsion

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1. The news-letters from July 1707 to October 1718 A.D. contain the news collected from different parts of the Punjab for the information of the Mughal emperors. According to Ganda Singh, the Mughals had an elaborate system for the collection of news from all over the country through a network of news writers called *waqai-nawis*, *waqai-nigar*, *akhbar-nawis* etc. A regular department which worked at the imperial capital used to compile daily the news of the kingdom. These were presented to the emperor to obtain his orders. These in turn were transmitted to various *subas* by their respective news writers, with a brief record of ruler's reactions and orders thereon to keep their masters in touch with what was going on at the Imperial court and in different parts of the country. The Jaipur collection of *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* preserved in the Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner containing the Punjab news was also collected in the similar manner: Ganda Singh, 'The Punjab News in the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*', *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. IV, Part II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October 1970, p. 224. A large portion of these news-letters pertaining to the Punjab was translated by Ganda Singh. Later Bhagat Singh translated the newsletters from 1707 to 1718 and published in *The Panjab Past and Present*. I have used latter translation for this paper: Bhagat Singh (tr.), 'Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla', *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, Punjabi University, Patiala, October 1984, pp. 1-189.

from Lohgarh in December 1710 and his escape to the hills. The other phase which has been described in detail by these writers is of 1715-16 when Banda Bahadur was besieged in Gurdaspur, surrendered on the promise of safety but later taken to Delhi to be executed along with his son and the Sikhs.² However, the period between January 1711 and July 1715 does not seem to be of any importance for these writers because hardly any mention has been made to the activities of Banda Bahadur and the Sikhs during this period of over four and a half years. It gives an impression as if Banda Bahadur and his Sikhs were not active during this period. But when these news-letters of the Mughal Court are read carefully, one finds that nearly 80 times during these 54 months, the Mughal emperors were informed that the Sikhs under Banda Bahadur were consistently making the efforts to come back to the plains, they were successful also, therefore, the orders were issued by the Mughal emperors to take action against them. The total information in these 80 news-letters amounts to a lot because the incidents of Banda Bahadur and Sikhs' activities which had been reported to the Mughal emperors were not isolated incidents. These incidents were part of the struggle led by Banda Bahadur for independence which went on for over six years. It is interesting to note that at times, when Banda Bahadur was not present among them, the Sikhs took it on themselves and fought against the Mughals on their own.

To give an idea of the information in these news-letters, it would be worthwhile to begin with the reports of the period immediately after Banda Bahadur's expulsion from Lohgarh in December 1710 to Bahadur Shah's death in February 1712. There are 50 reports related to this period. Out of these, three reports of the month of January 1711 are dated 9th, 13th and 27th which tell us that the Sikhs had assembled at Kotla Raja Todar Mal in Lahore province to retaliate, therefore, Muhammad Amin Khan from the imperial Court was

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2. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2006 (first published 1935), pp. 1-183; Hari Ram Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab*, The Minerva Book Shop, Lahore, 1944, pp. 45-50; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Punjab Under the Later Mughals (1707-1759)*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1972, pp. 40-90; Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab from the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*, Eurasia Publishing House (Pvt.) Ltd., New Delhi, 1964, pp. 274-81; Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 105-12; Gurdev Singh Deol, *Banda Bahadur*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jullundur, 1972; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 97-114; Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Orient Longman, Bombay, 1950, pp. 80-108.

sent with 5,000 horsemen and 2,000 foot soldiers to chase them.³ There is another news-letter of 6th March 1711, which reports the encampment of the Sikhs in the area around Lahore. On 11 March, it was brought to the notice of Bahadur Shah that a total of 25,000 Sikhs had assembled in the vicinity of Lahore. Shams Khan and Ali Khan, the *faujdar*s of Jalandhar Doab and Jammu respectively, collaborated to fight against the Sikhs but died fighting in the battle.⁴ Perturbed over this, Bahadur Shah ordered that Nanak worshippers from now onwards be written as Sikh thieves.⁵

Banda Bahadur and the Sikhs remained around Lahore in April 1711 as well.⁶ It is worth mentioning that Rahim Jamadar, a well wisher of Banda Bahadur, approached the hill chief of Kahlur (Bilaspur) on behalf of the Sikhs, and concluded an agreement that at the time of need, the Raja of Kahlur would provide asylum in his territory to the Sikhs and block the passage of Mughal forces.⁷ On 28 April 1711, it was brought to the notice of Bahadur Shah that Banda Bahadur was encamped at Kalanaur in the Bari Doab.⁸ A report tells us that Muhammad Amin Khan with 9,000 horsemen at his command was appointed to chase the Sikhs on 5 May 1711. Hamid Khan Bahadur was also deputed to punish the Sikhs.⁹

On 9 May 1711, Banda Bahadur was on the other side of the river Beas, later he crossed river Ravi and went in the direction of Lakhi Jungle. On 13 May, Banda was reported to have crossed River Ravi again and created disturbances.¹⁰ Abdus Samad Khan, Mughal Beg Khan and Durlab Khan, the Mughal officials, were asked to go with Muhammad Amin Khan to punish Banda Bahadur.¹¹ On 18 May, Banda Bahadur was encamped at the village Alhalab, at a distance of seven *kos* from river Beas. On learning that imperial servants had come to repair the bridge on the river Beas, Banda Bahadur deputed his hordes not to allow the bridge to be repaired.¹² Bahadur Shah ordered 10 matchlocks, 300 arrows, 50 maunds of lead, 8 *jaziras* and 2,000

3. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* (tr. Bhagat Singh), *The Panjab Past and Present*, Bahadur Shah, 4th R.Y., pp. 51, 52 & 53.

4. *Ibid.*, Bahadur Shah, 5th R.Y., p. 55.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

11. *Loc. cit.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

gunmen to be sent to the army of Muhammad Amin Khan.¹³ On 16 May, Banda Bahadur was reported to have been moving within 2 *kos* of Batala where Ram Chand (the ruler of Jaswan), with 7,000 men joined him from Jammu hills.¹⁴ A report informs that at this time, Banda Bahadur had even planned to go to Shahjahanabad via Ajmer, following the route of Lakhi jungle.¹⁵

It is interesting to note that when Banda Bahadur was busy around Batala, the Sikhs continuing with their struggle against the Mughals reached near Fatehabad and besieged Isa Khan, the assistant *faujdar* of Goindwal.¹⁶ In June 1711, there was a fight between Muhammad Amin Khan's forces and the Sikhs at Pasrur, the men got killed on both sides.¹⁷ The Sikhs ran away to Jammu.¹⁸ Though Muhammad Amin Khan with Isa Khan and the rulers of Jammu and Rajauri tried to capture Banda but could not succeed.¹⁹ Banda Bahadur remained in the Jammu valley for some time. In August 1711, he crossed the river Ravi.²⁰ On 6 September 1711, Banda Bahadur was reported to have crossed river Beas and entered the territory of the Raja of Guler. On 15 September 1711, Banda Bahadur with 5,000 horses and foot soldiers was moving about in Kiratpur.²¹ In October, leaving his hordes at Kiratpur he was encamped in Rampura hills near Ropar.²² He intended to go to Lohgarh.²³ Raja Jai Singh of Amer and Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur were sent by the Mughals to Lohgarh to punish Banda Bahadur.²⁴ There are reports of 4,000 Sikhs moving about in Garhwal hills. At this time, the Sikhs were also active in the *ta'alluqa* of Saharanpur.²⁵ There are reports of Banda Bahadur being helped by a large number of people who purchased horses and ammunitions to be delivered to the Sikhs. The Hindu *fakirs*, *yogis*, *sanyasis* and *bairagis* were conveying imperial news to Banda Bahadur.²⁶

13. *Loc. cit.*

14. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

15. *Loc. cit.*

16. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

18. *Loc. cit.*

19. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84

22. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, & 88.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

In November 1711, Banda Bahadur was making night assaults on Mughal army near Ropar. Muhammad Amin Khan having insufficient men with him requested Bahadur Shah to deploy additional detachment under his command. Accordingly, 5,000 horsemen, and 300 matchlock men were deputed under Hoshdar Khan, the *faujdar* of Jalandhar Doab, who was asked to join Muhammad Amin Khan.²⁷ The *faujdar* of Sirhind, Zain-ud-Din Khan also joined the said Khan with 1,000 horsemen. A fight took place with Banda Bahadur, it went on for about four hours in which most of the men of Mughal army were killed and injured. Banda Bahadur remained unharmed, he retired to the hills.²⁸

On 30 November 1711, Banda Bahadur wrote a letter to Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and Raja Jai Singh of Amer asking them to come to his territory, but they gave a negative response.²⁹ On 28 December 1711, Banda Bahadur attacked the Mughals' post at Rangharpur (Kiratpur), fighting took place with arrows and guns.³⁰ On 22 January 1712, it was reported that Banda Bahadur had escaped from Kirtapur and gone to the territory of the Raja of Kahlur, who was one of his associates. With his help, he came near Behslan to establish a *thana*.³¹ On 11 February, Banda Bahadur was reported to have been stationed at Jhajjar at a distance of 2 *kos* from Kahlur.³² Thus, one can notice that by the end of Bahadur Shah's reign in February 1712, Banda was quite active and making several attempts to go back and establish himself in Lohgarh.

Banda Bahadur succeeded in re-establishing himself during the reign of the Mughal emperor, Jahandar Shah. It is interesting to note that as a prince, Jahandar Shah was actively involved in Mughals' fight against Banda Bahadur, but as a ruler he could not do much. This was because of the usual struggle for accession to the throne among the sons of Bahadur Shah. In the fight that ensued, Prince Azim-us-Shah lost his life. Jahandar Shah killed his remaining brothers, Jahan Shah and Rafi-us-Shan in a battle fought on 27-28 March, and ascended the throne on 29 March 1712, but his reign started with a series of executions and imprisonments.³³

27. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

30. *Ibid.*, Bahadur Shah, 6th R.Y., p. 98.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

33. Ten months later, he himself was defeated and killed by his nephew Farrukh Siyar, son of Azim-us-Shah. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Bahadur*, pp. 121-22.

The struggle for the imperial throne was favourable to Banda Bahadur who taking advantage of the situation, regained his lost power. He reappeared from the hills. On 22nd May 1712, he established himself at his old place, Lohgarh. Jahandar Shah did try to oppose Banda's advance and sent 9,000 horsemen to kill him but was unsuccessful.³⁴ However, on 10 June 1712, when Banda Bahadur tried to set up his *thana* in the neighbourhood of Chhat Ambala, the *faujdar* and *zamindars* got together and *thana* of Banda Bahadur was removed. This did not deter Banda who advanced to Sirhind and succeeded in establishing his *thana* there.³⁵ On 17 August 1712, Banda Bahadur constructed a fortress with stones and bricks (*pucca garhi*) in Sadhaura to offer strong resistance to imperial forces. In the fight that ensued, a large number of Mughal soldiers got killed. For want of more men the Mughal personnel were in trouble.³⁶ Muhammad Amin Khan requested Jahandar Shah to provide him men and two big guns. Thus, one can see the helplessness of the imperial forces against Banda Bahadur who had re-established himself in and around Sadhaura. It is interesting to take notice of the plan made by Banda Bahadur in case he had to leave the plains. He had deputed Sikhs in the hill principality of Nahan (Sirmur) so that whenever he had to go, there would be no problems.³⁷ The last report of Jahandar Shah's reign is dated 15 October 1712, which says that the Sikhs had plundered the town of Chhat Sarkar, the deputy *faujdar* deputed at Chhat ran away without fighting. The Sikhs not only plundered the *parganas* of Sirhind but also established *thanas* at many places. Thus, one can notice that by the end of Jahandar Shah's reign and beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign on 31st December 1712, Banda Bahadur had settled along with his Sikhs at many places in Sirhind and Sadhaura.

The first report of Farrukh Siyar's reign related to Banda Bahadur listed in the *Akhbarat* is dated 11 February 1713. According to this report, Abdus Samad Khan had been appointed the *faujdar* of Jammu and instructed by the Mughal emperor to punish Banda Bahadur. On 10 March 1713, Farrukh Siyar was informed that the Sikhs had created riots at Lohgarh and resorted to pillage and depredation. They had laid waste the imperial territory and some *parganas* of Sirhind. Since, the *faujdar* could not punish the Sikhs, the inhabitants were fleeing from there. On 2nd April, it was reported that Banda Bahadur along with 5,000 to 6,000 horsemen and *pyadas* was staying at Lohgarh and had

34. *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla*; Jahandar Shah, 1st, R.Y., p. 113.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

37. *Loc.cit.*

strengthened the fortress of Sadhaura. Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, the *faujdar* of Sirhind was unable to deal with the Sikhs effectively. A report of 27 June 1713, tells us that Abdus Samad Khan along with Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan had besieged the fortress at Sadhaura. The Sikhs came out, fought against the imperial army and killed Beg Khan, Inam Khan etc. At this juncture, it was decided by the Mughal commanders to attack the undefended side of the fortress.³⁸ On 17 July, a report came that ladders with 700 wooden steps had been prepared to attack the Sikhs. Despite of these efforts, the fort of Sadhaura could not be conquered by Abdus Samad Khan till the end of September 1713. The fort of Lohgarh could be occupied on 16 November 1713. Thus, it can be noticed that Banda Bahadur who had reoccupied Lohgarh and Sadhaura during the reign of Jahandar Shah in August 1712 could not be ousted. He remained there for more than a year and could be expelled only in November 1713.

Dr. Ganda Singh while writing a monograph on the life of Banda Bahadur in 1935 was explicit about lack of information on Banda's activities of the period between October 1713 and February 1715. But, in these *Akhbarat*, discovered and later translated by him in 1970, there are nearly a dozen reports which make it clear that after his expulsion from Lohgarh and Sadhaura, Banda Bahadur with his Sikhs made a number of attempts to go back to the plains. The first report of this period is dated 1 March 1714 which tells us that the Sikhs 'had raised their heads in revolt and were engaged in depredations and plundering in Sirhind'. They were repulsed by Zain-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, the *faujdar*.³⁹ The second report is more interesting, it says that Banda Bahadur along with a heavy force was straying away in the village of Van in the territory of Ram Singh, the hill chief of Jaswan and intended to go towards Batala. Since the hill chiefs were helping Banda and not the Mughals, the *naib faujdar*, Abdul Azim of Jammu, who had insufficient force at his disposal, was feeling helpless.⁴⁰

The third report is dated 17 April 1714, which says that the Sikhs came out of the hills, indulged in reaping the crops of people, when challenged by the *Bahkshi* Sharaf-ud-Din, nearly 200 Sikhs came to reinforce Banda Bahadur. They killed and injured all the Mughal soldiers. Next day, Sharaf-ud-Din came back with 1,000 horsemen and 700 foot soldiers. The Sikhs gathered in large number, with nearly 5,000 *swars* and *pyadas*. A fierce battle

38. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

39. *Ibid.*, Farrukh Siyar, 2nd R.Y., p. 134.

40. *Ibid.*, Farrukh Siyar, 3rd R.Y., p. 135.

ensued in which large number of men and horses were killed on both sides.⁴¹ There is another report of a battle fought near Ropar on 30 April 1714. The Sikhs were 5,000 in number whereas the Mughal army comprised of 2,000 *swars* and foot soldiers. The fighting continued for 6 hours, 'the flying arrows of Sikhs put the Muslim forces in tight corner' says the report.⁴² On 29th May 1714, a battle was fought in which 12,000 Sikh horsemen and foot soldiers were pushed back to the hills by Muslim forces which were 10,000 in number.⁴³

It was reported to the emperor that on 13 May 1714, a large number of Sikhs had entered Manakpur to take away the animals but were repulsed by the *zamindar* of the said village and the Mughal forces.⁴⁴ In the news of 9 July 1714, it was reported that Baj Singh with a large Sikh army was stationed at Makhowal and was being helped by the hill ruler of Kahlur. Baj Singh had taken away the property and animals of the people of neighbouring villages.⁴⁵ There were reports of the Sikhs planning a revolt in Sunam. They were moving out in the area up to Ropar and Pinjore.⁴⁶ On 7 August 1714, the Sikhs along with the forces of the Raja of Garhwal went in the direction of Bareilly and Muradabad in accordance with the agreement with the *banjaras*. Raja Baz Bahadur Chand of Kumaon sent his army to punish the Sikhs.⁴⁷ On 23 August 1714, there was a report of a fight at Baqhoor.⁴⁸ A later report of 5 December 1714 informs that Banda Bahadur had reached Amboh near Pinjore. Through a report of 10 December, the Mughal emperor was informed that the Sikhs were staying at Alhara in the territory of Isa Khan, the *zamindar* of Eminabad and were taking away the property and animals of the people.⁴⁹

On 23 February 1715, the Sikhs were reported to have gone towards Suket and Mandi from Sirhind.⁵⁰ On 2 March 1715, it was reported that Banda Bahadur had come to the foot of the hills. On 14 March 1715, the news of Banda Bahadur's march along with his forces to the Bari Doab and plundering Kalanaur, Batala and Raipur was given to Farrukh Siyar. On 19 March, he was informed that Sikhs had reached up to a distance of 12 *kos* of the city of Lahore,

41. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

42. *Loc. cit.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

44. *Loc. cit.*

45. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42 & 144.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

the *faujdar* and the inhabitants had run away and that the Sikhs had set up their own government.⁵¹ It was also reported that some Sikhs were trying to go to the Bist Jalandhar Doab from the ferry of Sri Hargobindpur.⁵²

A later report of 14 April 1715 tells that Abdus Samad Khan, the *subedar* of Lahore, with 12,000 *sawars* and same number of foot soldiers has got the *parganas* of Batala and Kalanaur vacated from the Sikhs. He had also besieged the fortress of Gurdaspur.⁵³ These news-letters, in fact, supply information, which was not known so far, about the activities of Banda Bahadur and Sikhs during their siege in this fortress. The Mughal emperor was informed that there were *pyadas*, matchlock men and the archers inside the fortress. They had collected a lot of iron and secured the guns and muskets. They had manufactured three guns and had a lot of gun powder with them. The Sikhs used to come out of the fort to take pieces of wood from the village of Kotli to strengthen their entrenchments. They also took inside grass for the consumption of their animals. In order to help Banda Bahadur at this juncture, Bakht Singh, the *zamindar* of Samana, with 400 Sikhs entered Nurpur and plundered the villages to collect stock of food grains.⁵⁴ On 3 July 1715, it was reported that the *Banjaras* were staying in and around Nurpur and supplying the Sikhs with food grains, arrows and rifles.⁵⁵ On 17 November 1715, it was reported that the Sikhs numbering 500 *swars* and 4,000 foot soldiers were camping in the fort of Nahan. The ruler of Nurpur took measures not to let them help Banda Bahadur and the Sikhs besieged in Gurdaspur.⁵⁶

It is well known that Banda Bahadur was captured from 'Gurdas Nangal' in December 1715 along with a large number of Sikhs and taken to Lahore, on 5 March 1716, all of them were taken to Delhi. Nearly a hundred Sikhs were executed daily. Banda Bahadur was executed on 10 June 1716, before that his son was executed in front of his eyes. It would be appropriate here to leave out details of Banda Singh's capture in Gurdaspur and his execution at Delhi, as a lot has been written on these events but a report of 12 December 1715 would make an interesting reading. When the news of the capture of Banda Bahadur was conveyed to Farrukh Siyar, the emperor ordered that they should celebrate the victory over rebel by beating the drums. An

51. *Ibid.*, Farrukh Siyar, 4th R.Y., p.146.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 154. Bakht Singh was later killed in the court on 13 August, 1716.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

elephant symbolising the 'auspicious' victory was presented to the emperor. He ordered that four gunny bags filled with *paisas* should be thrown over the elephant by way of charity.⁵⁷ Thus, one can notice that the capture of Banda Bahadur in 1715 was not an ordinary event for the Mughals, for them it was end of a movement started by Banda Bahadur, in fact the end of Sikhs' war for independence which had posed a serious threat to the Mughals' sovereignty.

In retrospect, we can see that this new information in the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* has added altogether new dimension to our understanding of the activities of Banda Bahadur and the Sikhs of the period between 1711 and 1715. It has made a substantial advance upon all previous studies on Banda Bahadur.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH — A FRESH AND PRAGMATIC APPROACH

*Balwinderjit Kaur Bhatti**

Much has been said and written about the working of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's monarchy; no less emphasis has been laid on the functioning of his administrative machinery.

The paper in hand delves on brief microscopic details of some of the *farmans* (orders) issued by the Maharaja in connection with his administration. The very nature of the *farmans* depict how the welfare of general public was taken care of by the remarkably active and efficient Maharaja and his staff. Sir Lepel Griffin's observations are worthy to be noted in this regard.

It is said that one day a person complained to him (Sawan Mal) that some chief had destroyed his crop by turning his horses loose to graze in his field. Sawan Mal asked the man if he could point out the offender in the *Darbar*. The peasant pointed to Ram Das, the Diwan's eldest son. He admitted the complaint to be just and Sawan Mal ordered him to be imprisoned. The injured man begged for his pardon, but for several days Ram Das remained in confinement; and his spirit was so broken by this punishment that he fell ill and died shortly after his release.¹

There are on records the names of some capable officers, *dewans*, *faujdars*, *nazirs* etc. who were elevated on account of their appreciable work. Prem Singh Hoti's account of the administration of the Maharaja is full of instances which go a long way in throwing excellent light on the much needed acumen, capacity and insight of the Maharaja who issued *farmans* from time to time to bring the whole system of government under his supervision and control.

Prem Singh Hoti refers to the tour of Kanwar Kharak Singh towards the region of Multan. Maharaja Ranjit Singh brought home to him by all instances and purposes that his contingent should by no means inflict any damage to the crops. We come across a number of examples which prove that

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1. Lepel Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, 1865 (Quoted by Prem Singh Hoti).

the Maharaja generously ordered grants for the peasants whose crops were damaged by the royal army when on march.

C. Gough and A. Innes hold that the vigour and shrewdness of his (Maharaja's) judgement was conspicuous. His promptitude of action was obvious.² General John, J.H. Gordon's calculations about the Maharaja are also very helpful and significant for having a closer view of the Maharaja's functioning. He holds that he (the Maharaja) managed better than others, more learned to transact the current duties of his State by means of his retentive memory, quickness of mind and keen observation. The evolution of monarchy was inevitable under his masterful action.³

There are no two opinions that Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians all considered the monarchy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as their common rule. Numerous differences of the subjects of the Maharaja notwithstanding, he always tried to harmonise their interests. He assured the common people by his pragmatic approach that they would be able to protect their interests properly under his benign protection and supervision. It is however, to be noted here that the constant anxiety and care of the Maharaja notwithstanding, the rich section of the society enjoyed privilege and influence at the cost of the man in street and crime was not altogether a thing of the past.

In the light of conflicting views on the point, it must be clarified that the Maharaja with an eagle's eye took notice of everything from the shoeing of a horse to the robes of the Prime Minister. Here we quote one or two more *farmans* of the Maharaja to prove our point and also to affirm that nothing escaped from his acute leadership. Fakir Syed Waheeduddin has given two *farmans* of the Maharaja with confidence under the title – 'The Subject Rights', meaning thereby the Maharaja gave preference to the rights of his subjects over other matters of the State. One of the *farmans* read :⁴

"Sincere well-wisher, Fakir Nuruddin Ji, May you be happy :

It is hereby decreed by his Highness with the utmost emphasis that no person in the city should practice high handedness and oppression on the people. Indeed, if even His Highness himself should issue an inappropriate order against any resident of Lahore, it should be clearly brought to the

2. Sir C. Gough & A. Innes, *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, 1899 (Gleaned by Ganda Singh).

3. General Sir John J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 111.

4. Fakir Syed Waheeduddin, *The Real Ranjit Singh*, Lahore, 1965, pp. 31-32.

notice of His Highness so that it be amended. Protector of Bravery Malwa Singh should always be advised to dispense justice in accordance with legitimate right and without slightest oppression and, further more, he should be advised to pass orders in consultation with the *Panches* and Judges of the city and in accordance with the *Shastras* and *Qurans*, as pertinent to the faith of the parties; for such is our pleasure. And should any person fail to act in accordance with your advise and instruction, you should send him a formal letter so that it may serve as a proof on the strength of which His Highness may punish him for disobedience."

Despatched from the court the above letter obviously proves that the Maharaja was against any undue and unsought for interference, injustice or oppression on the man in the street. He suggested admonishment for the defaulters and disobedient Government officials to the extent that he himself felt an irresistible urge within himself to withdraw the *farmans* having no legitimate or legal sanction behind them. It is clear from the above *farman* that it was issued for the bonafide citizens of Lahore and was applicable for them only. It goes without saying that the *farmans* in questions, no doubt, meant for those living in the capital of Lahore but the fact remains that the other two provinces of Multan and Kashmir were also covered in those orders since we do not take notice of any irregularity or lapse on the part of those living in those provinces. Of course, the fourth province of the Empire namely the province of Peshawar seems to be an exception where the administrators had to take resort to oppression as the residents of this frontier province mostly belonged to unruly tribes who were habitual for taking law in their own hands. Hanging was also resorted to in this province. But the fact remains that the Maharaja did not bear any cruelty or injustice or any inappropriate act practised on the common man.

Another *farman* referred by Faqir Syed Waheeduddin also lays stress on the protection and safeguarding of the rights of the common man. This *farman* also is particularly meant for the citizens of Lahore, the capital but the same terms and conditions applied to the inhabitants of other provinces as were applicable in the case of the first *farman*. The second *farman* is however, more elaborate and classified as it explains the identity of the common man vis-a-vis the wood cutters, fodder-vendors, air-vendors, horse shoers etc. who were not allowed to suffer or face any high-handedness. The *farman* reads:

"Ujjal Didar Nirmal Budh Sardar Amir Singh Ji and our sincere well wisher Fakir Nuruddin ji, May you live long by the grace of Sri Akal Purakh and enjoy the protection of Sri Akal Budh!

By the grace of Sri Sat Guru Ji, the exalted command is issued to you that, deeming yourself to be responsible for the security of Lahore you should take care of the duties pertaining thereto. Sri Sat Guruji forbid, if His Highness, his beloved son Kharak Singh Ji, Kanwar Sher Singh Ji, Raja Suchet Singh Ji or Jamadar Ji should commit any inappropriate act, you should bring it to the notice of His Highness. Secondly, you should send your trusted representative to Sardars with clear instructions to refrain from inappropriate acts. If the Sardars act according to your instructions, well and good; otherwise you should send word to them that you will bring the matter to the notice of His Highness. Moreover, you should not permit forcible possession to be taken of any person's land or allow any person's house to be demolished. Nor should you allow any high-handedness to be practiced upon woodcutters, fodder-vendors, oil-vendors, horse shoers, factory owners etc. In such cases also you should prevent the oppressor from oppression. You should administer matter in the same way as Sardar Desa Singh ji; should not permit anybody to be treated harshly and should forward to His Highness any petitions intended for him. Furthermore, you should daily send for Chand Mall, Kotwal of the Royal Court and Babu Panda, and obtain from them news of all happenings so that every person's rights are secured and no person is oppressed. The frames of the city gates should be caused to be repaired from the revenue of the Court. Hazara Sawars should be appointed to watch the roads and considering the security of the whole of Lahore city as your responsibility you should act in accordance with this decree." (Dated Lahore, 19 Pos, 1888 sambat).⁵

After giving an intensive reading to the two *farmans* given above, a student of history cannot help examining their credibility; how far or to what extent were these *farmans* practically carried out and implied in the Punjab more so in the whole of the city of Lahore. Faqir Waheeduddin has not lost

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

sight of this issue and argues that the above mentioned *farmans* are not the models of royal draftsmanship by any standard ancient or modern, western or eastern. Of course, Ranjit Singh was fallible as a King. He was a dynamic despot. Faqir Nuruddin is right when he says that "despotism connotes not only absolute rule, but also oppression, tyranny and arbitrariness. A man who could issue orders of the kind reproduced above cannot be called a despot in any sense of the term."⁶

In order to analyse the views expressed above regarding the nature of administrative system of the Maharaja, let us by way of instance have a practical approach and assess the judicial arrangements of Maharaja to see how far were those helpful to the common man in the street.⁷ As we already know, during the times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh there was no major distinction between the civil and criminal law. The whole system suited to the social and political requirement of the time as well as to the temper of the inhabitants though executive and judicial powers were allocated by the Maharaja who was the fountain-head of law in the whole State. There were very limited chances of abuse of power chiefly because the status and dignity of the officials depended on the discretion and favour of the Maharaja who never tolerated any administrator who could confiscate the property and wealth of the ailing public. The *Jagirdars* were strictly forced to convey their decisions pertaining to significant cases to the Maharaja's Court. Moreover, the Maharaja remained in touch with the complaints of corruption and bribery through the appointment of special touring staff which could be called the very hub of the administrative system. After sometime, he himself commenced personal tours of the whole state to examine and review the whole judicial system. It was done to restrain any illegal procedure being adopted anywhere in the country. The *Panchayats* or elders who exercised some local influence settled the disputes in the villages. The *Kardars* besides administering justice in the towns and cities revised the decisions of the village *Panchayats* in certain cases where no amicable decision was arrived at by elders. *Nazims* decided important cases regarding revenue and disputes. A special Court known as *Adalt-i-Ala* was also established probably to hear appeals of the decisions given by the lower courts. At the top was the court of the Maharaja, who himself listened to the appeals and complaints with deep interest and imparted justice to all and sundry.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

7. G. S. Chhabra in his *The Advanced History of the Punjab*, Ludhiana (nd., p. 168) confirms by giving reference of Administration Reports that the Maharaja beyond doubt loved the people and their prosperity.

As a matter of fact, the Maharaja provided expertise to the central and provincial administration by dint of his ability, strenuous efforts and keen interest. Protection of his rule from the foes and the extension of the Empire were the two major issues that captivated his whole attention. It was in the year 1809 A.D. when Dewan Bhawani Dass entered the Lahore Darbar and was given good incentives in the form of handsome *Jagir* and emoluments. That administrative machinery was geared up. Afterwards Dewan Ganga Ram and Dewan Dina Nath were called from Delhi. In this way with the help of experienced persons different *dafters* were created and established in the Lahore Kingdom.⁸

By means of good administration Maharaja Ranjit Singh consolidated his conquests as a shrewd politician. Alex Gardner has rightly observed that the Maharaja was in fact, one of those master-minds who only require opportunity to change the face of the globe. Ranjit Singh (by consolidating his Empire) made a good and powerful nation from the disunited confederacies of the Sikhs and would have carried his conquests to Delhi (by giving good administration to the people) or even further, had it not been for the stimulus rise and consolidation of the British Empire in India.

Alexander Burns writes, "I never quitted the presence of a native of India with such impressions as left this man. Without education and without a gun he conducts all the affairs of his kingdom with surprising energy and vigour, and yet he wields his power with a consideration quite unprecedented in an Indian Prince."⁹

The *farmans* issued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh roughly in the period pertaining to a decade depict that he continued discontinuing some offices so much so that only the seal of Kirpa Ram or Har Sukh Rai remained functioning.

G. L. Chopra after thorough study of the civil administration of the Maharaja holds that not even a single pie was supposed to be paid out of the State treasury without a regular procedure.

Synopsis of the procedure can be traced as such :

Maharaja's *farman* was passed to the *munshis* through reporters.

Farmans were communicated in Punjabi with reference to the payment to be made with or without *kasar* i.e., with or without cuts.

The orders or *farmans* were then written, giving full details of the payment.

8. Sita Ram Kohli, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Delhi, 1953, pp. 206-207.

9. *Travels into Bukhara*, 1834 (Gleaned by Ganda Singh).

The *parwanas* were then sealed and presented for the perusal and approval of the Maharaja. After duly approved two seals were fixed, one in Gurmukhi – '*Akal Sahai Ranjit Singh*', with comments – '*mulahiza shud*' (examined). An addition of more seals were, however, made later on. The *farmans* were passed on to various offices before finalization.¹⁰ In a nut shell, the Maharaja was himself the centre of all administration and was assisted by his ministers. Europeans, who visited the Punjab during the reign of the Maharaja give a favourable account of the civil administration which had a soft corner for the peasants by means of remissions of state revenue in case of the failure of crops. Even loans were offered to the farmers popularly called 'Jagir Loan'¹¹ which was the chief requirement of the farmers for progressive cultivation. A glorious feature of the revenue system was that taking due consideration of the well being of the farmers, the land revenue was collected taking into mind the condition of the land being ploughed by the farmers. Land yielding less produce was charged less, while reasonable amount of revenue was collected from the farmers having fertile soil. An over-view of the survey of land revenue depicts that the tillers of the soil were happy and were, of course, free from any financial stress and strain.¹² During the reign of the Maharaja, incentives given by him at the time of urgency encouraged the farmers for tilling more and more land and bringing it under the cover of cultivation. Historians mostly agree on the point that the institution of slavery had been reduced to insignificance during the Sikh rule.¹³

A significant fact to be noted here is that the consolidation of his Empire by the Maharaja, vanished fear from the minds of the peasants by assuring for them internal and external security which led to ultimate progress of the State. Henry T. Prinsep, who is the very first British writer on Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1834 A.D.) observes that the territorial possessions of Ranjit Singh comprised the entire fork of the Punjab, as bounded by the Indus and Satlej, the two extreme rivers. The credit, of course, goes to the administrative acumen of the Maharaja.¹⁴

10. G. L. Chopra, *Punjab as a Sovereign State* (Civil Administration—A Sketch).

11. *Ibid.*

12. For a detailed and intensive study of the agrarian arrangements of the Maharaja see, Indu Banga's *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*.

13. J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (tr. Amarwant Singh), dafter III, p. xix (Editor's Preface).

14. *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 145.

SWAMI DAYANAND SARASWATI'S CRITIQUE OF HINDU ORTHODOXY IN THE *SATYARATH PRAKASH*

Sheena Pall*

Kenneth W. Jones in his *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab* is concerned with the 'process of identity reformulation and acculturation' among the Hindus of the Punjab with special reference to the Arya Samaj. He points out that Swami Dayanand Saraswati wrote the *Satyarath Prakash* as 'a statement of his ideas and beliefs' in 1875. Jones was also aware of the existence of the second edition of the *Satyarath Prakash*. However, he uses an English translation of the *Satyarath Prakash* in the work, and he does not make use even of the translation in his treatment of the Arya Samajist criticism of Hindu orthodoxy which he equates with the Sanatanists. He noticed the debate between the Arya Samajists and the Sanatanists on the issues of idolatry, social and religious role of the Brahmans, Arya interpretation of the *Vedas* and the consequent rejection of the *Puranas* and the *Vedantic* philosophy.¹ Kenneth W. Jones, thus, introduces the theme of orthodoxy in an elementary way.

J.T.F. Jorden's *Dayananda Sarasvati: His Life and Ideas*, is a study of the significant phases in Swami Dayanand Saraswati's life. The chapter entitled 'The First *Satyarath Prakash*'² is a detailed analysis of the work published in 1875. Jorden underlines the importance of the Vedic revelation for Swami Dayanand which in his view was meant for the whole of mankind. His conception of God was central to his understanding of the Vedic *dharma*. The Vedic age till the great war of the sons of Bharat was the golden age in the history of the country. After the war, the *Vedas* were neglected, leading to disintegration and degeneration. Shankaracharya tried to counteract this process but his movement collapsed due to his pre-mature death. A lengthy criticism

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1. Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1989 (rpt), first published in 1976, pp. 35, 110, Appendix IV, Selected Short Biographies, *Swami Dayanand Saraswati*, p. 328.
2. J.T.F. Jorden, *Dayananda Sarasvati: His Life and Ideas*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1978.

of the post-Vedic religious systems is summarized in a few pages. Jorden does not talk specifically of the critique of orthodoxy in his analysis of Swami Dayanand's criticism of 'Hinduism'.

Jorden takes up the second edition of the *Satyarath Prakash* in his chapter entitled 'The Last Years: The Last Legacy in Print'.³ This edition was completed in 1882 and published posthumously in 1884. For 'the critique of Hinduism' in the new edition, Jorden talks of the degree of differences between the first and second edition, especially with regard to the Vedic golden age and the history of 'Hinduism' after the great war. There is no further discussion of the issues taken up in the first edition. Thus, Jorden's 'critique of Hinduism' remains based on the first edition. He mentions three criteria which provide the basis for Swami Dayanand's critique: conformity to the Vedic beliefs and practices, ethics, and logic.

Indu Banga in the '*The Ideology of Swami Dayanand*' underlines the importance of the second edition of the *Satyarath Prakash* which went into scores of editions with lakhs of copies published and sold as 'the principle text book of the Aryas'. It remains 'the full and final statement' of Swami Dayanand's position. Indu Banga has used the *Satyarath Prakash* in its final form for a cogent statement on his ideology, along with some other later works of Swami Dayanand. She points out that Swami Dayanand Saraswati rejected 'various manifestations of Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Shaktism', idol worship, and practices associated with priest-craft on the basis of his 'conception of God, the Vedas, and right conduct'. Swami Dayanand regarded the beliefs and practices of Hindu orthodoxy as 'false, immoral, irrational, and exploitative'.⁴

Our present concern is Swami Dayanand's critique of Hindu orthodoxy in the final version of the *Satyarath Prakash*. The approach and the views of the three eminent scholars we have considered provide the context and the starting point for analyzing Swami Dayanand's critique of Hindu orthodoxy.

In his *Satyarath Prakash* Swami Dayanand Saraswati presents Aryavarta as the golden land that was the source of all knowledge, learning, science and religion. The Aryas, the original inhabitants of the land, were men of quality and they were also the sovereign rulers.⁵ According to Swami

3. *Ibid.*

4. Indu Banga, 'The Ideology of Swami Dayanand' *Cultural Reorientation in Modern India* (eds.), Indu Banga and Jaidev, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1996, pp. 28, 37.

5. Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarath Prakash* (1884), Vijay Kumar Govindram Hasanand, New Delhi, 2000, p. 284.

Dayanand, degeneration of the Aryan society started in the post-*Mahabharata* period. Most of the learned men, kings, emperors, sages and seers died in the great war, the light of knowledge grew dim, and dissemination of the Vedic religion came to an end.⁶

Swami Dayanand denounced the teachings of the *Puranas* as corrupt. The bulk of what was given in the *Puranas* was false. The few things which were true were retained from the *Vedas* and the *Shastras*.⁷ The Brahmins in Swami Dayanand's view, wrote the *Puranas* under the names of ancient sages like Vyasa.⁸ But Vyasa could never have written false texts like the *Puranas* as he was a religious man of immense learning. A perusal of Vyasa's works, such as his commentary on the *Yoga Shashtra* and *Vedanta Shashtra*, would prove this. Dayanand further states that the '*Puran*' was not the name of any text, like the *Shiv Puran*, but the *vachan* of the *Brahmana* and the *Sutra*. The *Brahmana* texts like the *Aitreya*, the *Shatapath*, the *Sam* and the *Gopath* were known by five names: *Itihas*, *Puran*, *Kalp*, *Gatha* and *Narashanshi*. All these works were helpful in understanding the *Vedas*.⁹

Swami Dayanand points out that the *Puranas* do not have one common supreme deity, or even cosmology, and the cosmologies embodied in the *Puranas* border on the impossible. The statement made by the Swami on this issue is quite clear. 'Again, the *Shiv Purana* describes *Shiva*; the *Vishnu Purana*, *Vishnu*; the *Devi Purana*, *Devi*; the *Ganesh Khand*, *Ganesh*; the *Surya Puran*, *Surya*; *Vayu Puran*, *Vayu*, as the author of the creation and dissolution of the Universe and then each of them considers them as created beings. If the

6. Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, p. 288.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 314, 345.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 320.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 343, 344. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, New Delhi, 2003 (rpt), pp. 401, 402. The supporters of orthodoxy maintained that Vyasa was the author of the 18 *Puranas*, and whatever he had declared must certainly be held as authoritative. Furthermore, the *Puran* was the *Veda* as its teachings are in harmony with those of the *Vedas*. It was further asserted that *Itihas* (History) and the *Puranas* were called 'the fifth *Veda*'. The answer given by Swami Dayanand is emphatic: 'Had Vyasa been the author of the 18 *Puranas*, there would not have been so many stories in them, as it appears from the perusal of his other works, such as his commentary on the *Yoga Shashtra* and *Vedanta Shashtra*, that he was a very truthful and righteous man of vast learning and a great *yogi*. He could never have written such falsehood (as are recorded in the *Puranas*).... Besides, *Purana* is not the name of such books as the *Shiva Purana*, since it is said in the *Brahmana* and *Sutra* books:- "*Itihas*, *Purana*, *Kalpa*, *Gatha* and *Narashansi* are five names given to the *Brahman* books"'.

Pauranics were asked how the author of the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the Universe could be a created being and how a created being could be the First cause of the Universe, they would never be able to answer this objection. Besides, the bodies of these beings must have been formed out of the matter composing the universe. When they form part of the created world and are localized, how can anyone of them be the author of the universe? Moreover, Cosmogony is described differently in the different *Puranas* and in a manner which is altogether impossible'.¹⁰

Swami Dayanand states emphatically that the *Puranas* cannot be regarded as branches of the *Vedas*, and their study does not promote understanding of the *Vedas*. 'Just as trees like the *Ficus Religiosum*, Banyani and Mango are known by their distinctive branches and leaves, so are the true meanings of the *Vedas*, known by the study of the *Vedangas*, the four *Brahmanas*, the *Angas*, the *Upangas*, and other books written by sages and seers, hence it is that they are called *shakhas*'. The *Puranas* promote false practices like idol worship and pilgrimages. Swami Dayanand refutes the claim that these practices were given in the branches of the *Vedas* which were lost by asserting that the oldest works of Jaimini, Vyasa and Patanjali were true commentaries of the *Vedas* and even they make no mention of these practices.¹¹

Swami Dayanand rejects the idea of incarnation. The *Vedas* state that God is unborn, indivisible and formless and he is not subject to birth and death. As God cannot be contained in a body, the idea of incarnation does not stand the test of logic. The supporters of the orthodoxy accept that God is Formless, but they believe that He incarnated as Shiva, Vishnu, Ganesha, Surya and Devi, etc., and also appeared in flesh as Rama, Krishna, etc. That was why the images of the Deity were worshipped. Swami Dayanand insists that the '*Veda* declares God to be "Unborn, Indivisible, Formless," etc., and, therefore, not subject to birth and death and the necessity of incarnation. The doctrine of the incarnation of God cannot stand even the test of reasoning, for He, who pervades the universe like ether, is Infinite, Invisible, and is not susceptible to pleasure and pain, cannot be contained in a drop of semen or in the uterus or in a bodily tenement. Coming into and going out can only be predicated of a finite being. To say that the Immobile Invisible God, Who

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 345, 346. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs.), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 404. Shiva, Vishnu, Devi, Ganesha, Surya and Vayu, the names of gods are italicized in the translation.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 365, 366. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs.), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 428-29.

pervades every particle of matter, can take on flesh is as absurd as it would be to assert that the son of a barren woman was married and her grandson was seen.¹²

Swami Dayanand points out that there is no reference to idol worship in the *Vedas*. According to him, idol worship was introduced by the Jains and adopted by the Brahmins to earn a livelihood.¹³ Swami Dayanand asserts that no image can depict the formless God who pervades the entire universe and cannot exist in a particular object. As earth, water, fire, air and vegetation, all are creations of God, one can keep them in sight and pray, there is no need of an idol. 'It is altogether wrong to say that the sight of an idol makes one think of God. This would mean that when the idol is out of sight, the devotee would not think of God and, consequently when all alone, may succumb to the temptation of committing theft, adultery and the like sins. Believing as he does that there is no one to witness his actions, he would not scruple to commit the most degrading sins. These are some of the evils that result from the worship of idols.¹⁴ It is explicitly stated in the *Yajur Veda* that the formless supreme spirit can have no material representation, likeness or image.¹⁵ Swami Dayanand refutes the miracles associated with idols by logic and reasoning. The assertion of the Brahman priests on this point was actually deception.¹⁶

Swami Dayanand refers to the adverse or evil effects of idol worship: money wasted in construction of temples for idol worship; freedom in the temples leading to adulterous relations, fights and diseases. As people regard idol worship to be a means of salvation they waste their lives in following this useless practice. As people worship numerous idols there is no unity of faith,

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 190, 191, 322. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs.), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 373.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 320, 323.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 320, 321. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs.), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 371, 372. The supporters of orthodoxy asserted that as God was Formless He could not be contemplated, therefore, Idols are absolutely needed. Furthermore, there was no harm in standing before an idol with folded palms, thinking of God and reciting His name. Swami Dayanand responded by suggesting that the wonderful creation which comprehends the earth, water, fire, air, and vegetation and a hundred and one other things could remind one of God. One could think of God when one looks at the earth and the mountains which are wonderfully constructed, and out of which human beings fashion idols.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 325.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 331-337. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs.), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 384-391. There are numerous examples of miracles associated with idols that are refuted by logic and reasoning.

which leads to mutual clash and ultimately the destruction of the country. As the people are dependent on the idols for their well being they lose their independence and become a subject race.¹⁷

Swami Dayanand regards the mortuary rituals as useless. The oblations offered to the spirit of the dead did not reach them. The cow donated to the Brahman priest for the departed soul was appropriated by him.¹⁸ Swami Dayanand is critical of the numerous fasts prescribed for various occasions and times in different *Puranas*. Keeping fasts does not fulfil human desires for wealth or birth of a son. The Brahmans designed all these fasts for their own gains.¹⁹ Swami Dayanand points out that the practice of pilgrimage did not exist in the Vedic times, nor were any places held sacred then. If old records are examined it would be confirmed that this practice was instituted within a period of five hundred to one thousand years. According to him there was no merit in pilgrimage (*tirath*) as it did not wash away sins, nor did it result in any benefit.²⁰ The Swami was critical of the prevalent mode of *Nam Simran*

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 328.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 357, 358, 363. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs.), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 419, 420, 422. To the questions raised by the orthodox Brahman Swami Dayanand gave answers to the effect that the *Garur Puran* was false, that the soul suffers or enjoys according to the nature of its deeds, that oblations offered to the manes and alms given in their name do not reach the spirits of the dead, but they do reach the house, stomach or hands of their representative, the Brahman. The cow that is given away to help the departed soul to cross the river *Viatarnee* never gets to that river. But it does reach the house of the priest or (the slaughter house). The rite performed thirteen days after the death could be of no use to the deceased on the day of the death.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 364, 365. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 426, 427. 'Now, the following are the fasting days according to the different *Puranas*, etc. They (i.e., the *popes*) have given different names to the 24 *Ekdashis* of the year. One they have called *Dhanada* or "bestower of wealth", the other *Kamda*, i.e., one that gratifies one's desires, another *Putrada* or bestower of sons, another still *Nirjala* or *waterless*. Many a poor, needy or childless man has kept the *ekadashi* fast all his life and grown grey and even died without obtaining wealth, the object of his desire or a son. The *popes* have instituted this *waterless ekadashi* fast in the bright half of the month of *Jyeshtha* (corresponding to June) when it is so hot that it is enough to overpower a man if he goes without water even for one hour. Those who keep this fast suffer terribly from hunger and thirst'.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 339, 340, 341, 342. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 397. As usual, these points come through the question-answer form. 'Q - Idol worship and pilgrimage to holy places have been in vogue since time immemorial. How can they be false? A - What do you

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because it did not accord with the *Vedas* ²¹

Swami Dayanand's rejection of astrology (*ijyotish*) is based on a rational argument. The argument is developed in the form of questions and answers. 'Q – Have planets any influence over us? A – Not the kind of influence the popes tell you about. It is true though that the sun and the moon by their heat and cold and by their influence on the seasons are the cause of pleasure and pain to human beings according as they i.e., heat and cold, etc., agree with their nature or not. But the popes deceive you when they say, "Hear us O great banker! The sun or the moon, by virtue of his or her being in the 8th sign of the Zodiac, is maleficent to you or her." "The Saturn has chiefly affected your feet, for 2 ½ years you will suffer greatly through it. It will make you leave your home and hearth, wander in foreign lands, but should you give alms, have the sacred hymns chanted, the holy books recited and their worship performed and thereby propitiate the planets, you may escape their wrath and the consequent suffering.".... Eclipses and the like events are foretold with the help of the Science of Astronomy and not of Astrology. Astronomy is a true science, while a Astrology, excepting in so far as it relates to the natural influence of the planets such as the heat of the sun, coolness of the moon, is false'. Swami Dayanand emphasizes that the Brahmans developed astrology to deceive ignorant people.²²

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call *time immemorial*? If you say that by the use of these words you mean that these practices have *always* been in vogue it cannot be right, otherwise how would you account for the fact that there is no mention of these things in the *Vedas*, the *Brahmanas* and other ancient books of sages and seer.... Should a man desire to inquire into the origin of these *Tirathas*, he should examine the oldest records and brass plates kept by the *panda* priests. He would, then, be satisfied that they were all instituted within a period of 500 to 1,000 years, and that there is not a single record that goes back further than 1,000 years. Hence *Tirathas* are not ancient but of a recent origin.... Q – Is their no merit, then, in making pilgrimage to *Tirathas* (sacred places) or taking the name of gods?.... Are these things true or not? A – No, they are not, If sins could be destroyed, the poor should become rich and prosperous, the blind get sight and the lepers be cured of their leprosy, but it is not so. Hence sin and virtue can never be destroyed'.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 321. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 372. 'Q – Is it then a mistake to take the name of the Lord? The *Puranas* assign great merit to this act. A – Your mode of taking the name of the Lord is erroneous and is NOT commendable. Q – Why is our mode erroneous? A – Because it is *anti-Vedic*'.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 356, 357. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 415-16, 418.

Swami Dayanand rejected the taboo on foreign travel. A person of good character was not affected adversely by going abroad. This was evident from the fact that the ancients used to travel abroad for trade. 'The present day bug-bear of loss of one's character and faith through travelling abroad is simply due to the false teachings of the ignorant people and the growth of dense ignorance. Those who do not hesitate to go abroad, and thereby associate with peoples of various foreign countries, study their customs and manners, increase their trade, and augment their political power, become fearless and bold, and attain great power and prosperity by studiously imbibing the good qualities, and adopting the good customs and manners of the foreigners, and rejecting their faults and evil habits, and bad manners'. The *Mahabharata* is quoted on this point.²³

Swami Dayanand explains the emergence of the caste system based on birth in terms of the neglect of the Vedic knowledge and the self-interest of the Brahmans. With the passage of time not only the other castes but also the Brahmans became destitute of knowledge. 'Even the ancient practice of the study of the *Vedas* and other *Shastras* with their meanings died away'. The Brahmans only crammed the *Vedas* by rote, without understanding, to earn a living. They thought of perpetuating their privileged position. They held a council among themselves and agreed to persuade the *Kshatriyas* and others: 'We alone are the object of worship to you. You could never enter heaven or obtain salvation except by serving us. Should you not serve us, you shall fall into an awful Hell'. When the *Kshatriyas* and others became absolutely destitute of Sanskrit learning, they began to believe in the cock and bull stories concocted by the Brahmans. These nominal Brahmans, then became bolder still. They ensnared all in their net and brought them under thorough control. They began to claim: 'Whatever a Brahman declares is as infallible as words falling from Divine lips'. They also declared that all the best things of the earth were meant for the Brahmans only. In other words, they subverted the whole system of classes and orders, replacing all other considerations by the mere accident of birth with total disregard to qualifications, character and work of the people, which was originally the consideration. Henceforth, the Brahman became a 'pope', that is, 'a person who robs another through fraud and hypocrisy and achieves his selfish end'. These popes fabricated many superstitions and laws according to which without their permission an individual could not sleep,

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 271, 272. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*. (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 315, 316.

rise, sit, go, come, eat and drink.²⁴

The Brahmins composed false religious texts and the eighteen *Puranas* and assigned them to famous ancient sages and seers like Vyasa to lend them antiquity. This was done to establish the authenticity and authority to these texts.²⁵ The Brahmins also invented twenty-four incarnations of God, temples and idol worship, and instituted pilgrimage and fasts.²⁶ They encouraged idol worship through deceit to earn a livelihood. The popes fooled ignorant people and told them that God or the Goddess had visited them in their dream and asked them to dig their idols from the ground from a particular area, install it in a temple and asked the pope to become a priest.²⁷ The Swami is critical of the contemporary *Brahmacharyas* (celibates) because they were uneducated and had no knowledge of the *Vedas*.²⁸

Swami Dayanand was dissatisfied with the prevalent rules of commensality. He allowed the *dwijas* to eat food cooked in their own kitchen by a *Shudra*. Swami Dayanand explains that it was the duty of the *dwijas*-Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas (both men and women) to devote themselves to the dissemination of knowledge, the service of the state, the breeding of cattle, and to agriculture, trade and arts (and not to waste their time in cooking etc.). Before cooking food, a *Shudra* should bathe and wear clean clothes and shave and pare his nails regularly and he should cover his mouth during cooking. However, the *dwijas* should not eat or drink from a utensil of a *Shudra*. Food cooked in a *Shudra's* house was only to be taken in an emergency.²⁹ Swami Dayanand makes a clear distinction between a *Shudra* and a *chandala*, a *bhangi* or a *chamar*. The latter, called *antayaj* were not allowed to cook food for the higher castes nor to interdine with them.³⁰ Food was not to be had from the same vessel by two persons, and even husband and wife were not to eat together.³¹ Only vegetarian food was to be taken.³²

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 288, 289, 290, 291. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 334, 335.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 313, 320.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 339, 340, 365.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 411, 412.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 274. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 318, 319.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 279, 399.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 277, 278.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

The three systems of religion - Shaivism, Shaktism and Vaishnavism - and their sects, stand rejected by Swami Dayanand. He denounced the *Markandya Puran* and the *Shiv Puran* and the Shaivite rituals of smearing their bodies with ash, wearing *rudraksh* beads, the chant of '*har har bam bam*', worship of male and female reproductive organs (*jaladhari* and *linga*) and animal sacrifices.³³ Equally bad in his view were the numerous categories of Shaiv Sanyasis: *jogis*, *faqirs* (*kanphatte*), *nath*, *giri*, *puri*, *vana*, *aaranya*, *pavart*, *sagar* and householders.³⁴ Some of these groups were certainly of recent origin. 'They practice a great deal of hypocrisy as well. For instance, they make one of their company their *Mahant* (religious superior) who is also their headman. Every evening he sits on a raised cushioned seat, all the *Sadhus* and *Brahmans* stand up before him with flowers in their hands, read such couplets as "Unto *Narayana*, *Padamabha*, *Vasishtha Shakti*, his son *Parashar*, *Vyasa*, *Shuka* and the great *Gaurpada*," and then shout *Hara Hara* (God, God), shower flowers on him and prostrate themselves before him'.³⁵ Swami Dayanand is equally critical of the Lingakrit sect which was popular in south India.³⁶

Swami Dayanand criticizes the Neo-Vedantist faith started by Shankaracharya that is regarded as an offshoot of the Shaivites. He does accept that Shankaracharya tried to revive Vedism but he did not go far. He was opposed to the Neo-Vedantist belief of identity of God with the soul, and the unreality (*Maya*) of the external universe. Swami Dayanand admits that this view of Shankaracharya was effective in refuting the beliefs of the Jains. In itself however, it has no merit. Swami Dayanand also disapproved of the four centres (*mathas*) set up by the followers of Shankaracharya.³⁷

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 311, 312, 370. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 360, 433-34: 'Q – Well! Are the *Shivites* then good? A – How can they be good?.... The *Shivites* teach their *mantra* of five word: " We bow unto Lord *Shiva*, "wear rosaries of *Rudraksha* (berries of the *Eleocarpusganitrus* tree), smear their bodies with ash, worship *lingas* made of clay and stone, shout *Har* (Lord), *Har* (Lord), *Bam Bam* and make a noise somewhat like the bleating of a goat'. The name of the god *Shiva* is italicized in the translation.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 370.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 412. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 484. The names *Narayana*, *Padamabha*, *Vasishtha Shakti*, *Parashar*, *Vyasa*, *Shuka* and *Gaurpada* are italicized in the translation.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 397, 398.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 300, 301-03. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 370. 'Shankar holds that the soul and the Divine Spirit are identical; nothing besides God has an existence in fact. The phenomenal world is an illusion and is, therefore, unreal and perishable'.

For Swami Dayanand worship of the Goddess was clearly associated with Shaivism. He is extremely critical of the *Devi Bhagwat Puran* and points out that it is full of impossible tales and moral degradation. Incidentally, the Swami recognizes the distinction between Shaivism and Shaktism. In the *Shiv Puran* the Devi is held in contempt and Shiva is regarded as almighty. But in the *Devi Bhagwat Puran*, Mahadev, Vishnu and Brahma are spoken of disparagingly and the Devi is exalted above them all. In other words, she is the supreme deity for the Shaktas.³⁸

Swami Dayanand's denunciation of the *Vam margis* among the Shaktas is the strongest.³⁹ In his view the *Vam marg* arose during the period of utter degeneration. The Brahmans were entirely negligent of their duty and indulged in sensual pleasures. 'Then a sect sprung up among them whose followers wrote books called the *Tantras* in which various statements were introduced with the words *Shiva said, Parvati said, Bhairava said*. In these books such curious things are written as follows: - "(*Madya*) wine, (*Mansa*) meat, (*Mudra*) cakes, (*Maiihuna*) copulation, all these five beginning with the letter *M* lead to salvation in all ages". Swami Dayanand looked at this development as the trickery of stupid popes: 'whatever is considered to be highly sinful and opposed to the *Veda* is regarded as virtuous by the *Vam Margis*.'⁴⁰ Swami Dayanand asserts that the *yajyas* (*Ashvamedha, Gomedha* and *Narmedha*) in which horse, cow and humans are sacrificed figured only in the text of the *Vam margis*.⁴¹ They deceive the people by assuring them that their desires would be fulfilled by uttering certain *mantras*. Swami Dayanand is equally opposed to the two sects of *Vam margis*, (*Choli Marg* and *Bija Marg*) for what he regarded as their disgusting sexual perversions.⁴²

Swami Dayanand is even more critical of the Vaishnavas, the worshippers of Vishnu, whom he regarded as opposed to the *Vedas*. The

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 314.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 293. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarath Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 338, 339.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 295, 296. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarath Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 342 : 'Q - What are then the true meaning of such words as *Ashvamedha, Gomedha*, and *Narmedha*? A - Their meaning is not what the *Vam Margis* think. Nowhere in the scriptures and other authentic books is it written that horses, cows and human beings should be killed and offered as a sacrifice in the sacred fire, called *Homa*. It is only in the books of the *Vam Margis* that such absurd things are written'.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 368, 369, 370.

Chakrankits, a sect of the Śrīvaishnavas and one of its important leaders Ramanuj, believed that five holy acts lead to salvation: 'Branding the body with red hot iron, making the mark of a trident on the forehead, wearing a rosary, bearing a name (ending with *Das*) and receiving the knowledge of the mystic word'. These people 'brand the uppermost part of their arms with the sign of a conch-shell, a discus, a mace, or a lotus, then quench the iron in a vessel containing milk'.⁴³ Swami Dayanand shows a preference for the Neo-Vedantists as compared with the Chakrankits who were completely against the *Vedas*.⁴⁴ Other Vaishnava sects rejected by Swami Dayanand were: the followers of Ballabha, Swami Narayan and Madhav, the Ramanandi, the Nimavati, the Ramaprasadi and the Gaudiyas of Bengal.⁴⁵ He is also opposed to Vaishnav ascetics (*bairagis*) like the *khakis* who apply dirt on their bodies, beg for food, smoke hemp and *charas* and dupe children and make them their disciples (*chelas*). They have no Sanskrit learning and are thus ignorant of the *Vedas*.⁴⁶ Swami Dayanand had no appreciation for *Ramlila* and *Raslila*.⁴⁷

The criteria for Swami Dayanand's criticism of Hindu orthodoxy in the *Satyarth Prakash* were, conformity to the *Vedas*, his code of ethics and values, and logic. For Swami Dayanand the teachings of the *Puranas* were corrupt and did not conform to the *Vedas*. He rejected the idea that the *Puranas* were the branches of the *Vedas* and argued that the study of the *Puranas* did not promote an understanding of the *Vedas*. Swami Dayanand rejected the idea of incarnation as it went against the *Vedas*, which maintained that God was formless and was not subject to birth and death. The idea of incarnation failed the test of reasoning too. The Swami rejecting idol worship as there was no mention of idol worship in the *Vedas*. Miracles related to idols were refuted by logic and actions of the Brahmins to promote such deception was regarded as unethical.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 316, 317, 319. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, pp. 365, 367.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 370, 372, 385, 388, 390, 392, 397.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 373, 374, 375, 376.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 367. For translation, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Satyarth Prakash*, (trs), Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, p. 430. 'The priests and the laity - also have *Raslila* (a dance which enacts the amorous pastimes of *Krishna* with cow-herdresses) and *Ramlila* (a *Pauranic* play in which the deeds of *Rama* are represented). (During the course of these performances) *Sita* and *Rama*, *Radha* and *Krishna* dance while the priests and princes - their servants - are seated at their ease watching the dance'. *Sita*, *Rama*, *Radha* and *Krishna*, the names of gods and their consorts are italicized in the translation.

Swami Dayanand denounced the mortuary rituals as they were fruitless and went against logic. The practice of keeping a number of fasts, designed by the Brahmans was exploitative. The practice of pilgrimage was denounced as it was not sanctioned by the *Vedas*. The practice of astrology was irrational and the conduct of the Brahmans who developed and used astrology to deceive people was not ethical. The taboo on foreign travel too was rejected as illogical.

Swami Dayanand criticized the caste system based on birth as it did not have the sanction of the *Vedas*. The Brahmans, destitute of knowledge, used their privileged position to dupe, cheat and exploit people by claiming to be supreme; they fabricated superstitions, false religious texts, and belief in incarnation and idol worship. The Swami uses the sword of logic to point out that the *Shudras* should cook food for the *dwijas* in their kitchen. The *dwijas* devoted their time in dissemination of knowledge and did not waste time in cooking. In the interest of cleanliness, Swami Dayanand asserted that the *Shudras* should maintain personal hygiene while cooking for the *Dwijas*.

Shaivism, Shaktism and Vaishnavism are emphatically rejected as they were based on *Puranic* scriptures and hence did not have sanction of the *Vedas*. The Shaivite practices are regarded as unethical. The numerous categories of Shaiv *Sanyasis* are labelled as hypocrites. The sexual perversions practiced by the *Vam margis* were unabashedly immoral. The practices of the Vaishnavite sect of the Chakrankits and ascetics (*bairagis*) were completely against the *Vedas*.

THE SIKH RELIGION AND HISTORY : THE WESTERN STUDIES

Nazer Singh*

In order to know the meaning and genesis of the Western Studies on Sikh Religion and History writing in Modern Times one can easily begin with Harbans Singh, Fauja Singh and Stephen Dunning. First comes a *Lecture*¹ delivered by Harbans Singh at Harvard University, Cambridge, on April 30, 1969, under the auspices of the Centre for the Study of World Religions, in honour of the Guru Nanak's quinquennial. This *Lecture* was published in India in 1971 by the *Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. III, No. 2. Its title was "Guru Nanak as Historical Memory and Continuing Reality in Sikh Tradition".² The published article of 1971 clearly says that the *Janamsakhi* accounts "tell their story in the language of myth and legend. There is no attempt at chronology".³ Obviously Harbans Singh treated Historical Memoary as if it was more significant than Chronology for the Sikh History.

Secondly we can take up Fauja Singh for his article entitled as 'Religio-Cultural Heritage of the Punjab'.⁴ It was published in 1984 by the same Journal that had produced the above *Lecture* of Harbans Singh. The last paragraph of Fauja Singh is interesting to know his method and ideas about the appearance of Sikhism in the Punjab. Interestingly this para begins with 'The advent of Islam' that brought new ideas in this country. These ideas influenced the Hindu society. The institutionalized Hinduism was led by the Brahmins and the Yogis who did not accept the new ideas and had sought to strengthen the caste divisions. Their indifference created a vacuum that was filled up by a new leadership rooted in the commercial classes of the Punjab. This new leadership gave us a new socio-religious approach. "It was in these circumstances that Sikhism, a new religion, made its appearance in the Punjab",⁵ concluded the

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1. Sardar Singh Bhatia, Anand Spencer (eds.), *The Sikh Tradition : A Continuing Reality*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1999, p. 47, f.n.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-68.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-20.

5. Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Historian. However, his method or approach to History is surprising. Take a notice of the word 'advent of Islam' used by him. Further, he was silent about the chronology of Indian History and its march from the Ancient period to the Medieval Era though he has mentioned the Sant traditions emerging between the 7th and the 15th century.⁶

Harbans Singh showed his concern for the Modern Sikh History and the chronology of Western Studies of Sikhism by his article entitled as 'Scholarly Study of Sikhism' published in 1970.⁷ He declared Sikhism as the last so far of world's major religions. It was significant "especially from sociological and reconciliatory points of view."⁸ Sikhism was born at a time when Hinduism and Islam had lived on the Indian soil in sharp conflict. It attempted to steer a course between the two. Sikhism got a short span yet it had a deeply humanitarian and social outlook. The language of this article as well as the description of Sikh History given by Harbans Singh need attention. According to him Sikh religion grew under the care of 'ten spiritual masters'. The Sikh creed and the civil organization continued its inner dynamism initiated by 'the First Guru, or prophet-teacher'. The Sixth Nanak, Guru Hargobind, gave it the training of the use of arms. Guru Gobind Singh, "the tenth and last of the Sikh Guru, brought to consummation the work started by Guru Nanak."⁹ He created the Khalsa that was joined by all classes and sections of society including the peasants and the lowly *Sudaras*. Harbans Singh writes:

A prolonged spell of fierce persecution followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh. Suffering brought power. Under Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), the Sikhs established a strong kingdom in the Punjab. This eventually fell to internal machinations and the onrush of British conquest.¹⁰

The Sikh downfall in 1849 is followed by the Singh Sabha Movement or the renaissance movement. There is a mere reference to the Sikh struggle or revolutionary movement on the west coast of the United States of America. But Harbans Singh is silent about the Ghadar Movement, Banda Singh Bahadur, the Nirankari Movement and the Namdhari struggle in India. Even the word *Ghadar* is missing.¹¹ However, he has stressed upon the need to explore *Guru*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-249.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

11. *Ibid.*

Granth Sahib and Punjabi literary works. He looks on the Sikh scriptures as a source of concordance, ethos and an "authority for deciding matters of communal and religious importance". In this context any five Sikhs may represent a particular congregation to take the decision.¹²

Notwithstanding by the limitations of Harbans Singh's article under consideration, we can turn to show its Historiographical worthiness if any by summing up its Historical writings and their chronology. He says, "The first published work on the Sikhs, in any language, appeared in 1788. That was 80 years after the passing away of Guru Gobind Singh".¹³ This publication was the result of East India Company administration under Warren Hastings who had sent major James Browne in 1783 to Delhi to keep watch on the Sikhs and their rise to power. Actually it was a manuscript written in Devanagari and it had been rendered first into Persian. Browne himself made its translation into English and wrote an Introduction to it. The translated work in English was published under the title *History of the Origin And Progress of the Sikhs*. The word Sikhs here was spelled as 'S-i-c-k-s'. In fact all the early western writers had employed their variable spellings for the word Sikh. These variables can be numbered into 22. Harbans Singh says that Browne had a sound political judgement about the future importance of the Sikhs for the Bengal administration.¹⁴ But he did not explain this political concern of the British for Sikhism.

The diplomatic interest of the British in Sikhs and their country continued to attract the following kinds of scholars even after the rise of Ranjit Singh to power (1780-1839):

- (i) Despatch and Memoranda writers or the English officers.
- (ii) The Memoirs and Diary writers patronized by the States.
- (iii) Accounts of the Travellers and Adventurers in North India.
- (iv) Employees of the Sikh Court of Lahore under Ranjit Singh.

As a result of it the following major works of History appeared between 1798 and 1898 :

1. George Forster, *A Journey From Bengal to England* (1798);
2. Victor Jacquemont, *Letters From India* (1834);
3. Charles Hugel, *Travels in Cashmire and the Punjab, Containing a Particular Account of the Government and Character of the Sikhs* (1845);
4. Steinbach, *The Punjab being a Brief account of the Sikhs* (1845);

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, p. 240.

14. See Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 240.

5. John Martin Honingberger, *Thirty-Five Years in the East* (1852);
6. Alexander Gardner, *Memoirs* (1898).

More important than these works were regular essays that did appear between 1812 and 1846. These essays were :

1. John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs* (1812)
2. H.T. Prinsep, *The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* (1834)
3. W.L.M. Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs* (1846)

After Gregor, Harbans Singh referred to J.D.Cunningham's book that came in 1849. But he was silent about the regime of William Bentinck (1828-35), Governor Generals : Lord Auckland (1837-41) and Charles Metcalfe. We know that Malcolm and Metcalfe had been in the Diplomatic and Military Service of the East India Company even under Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) and these two were the authors of the Amritsar Treaty of April 1809. This Treaty had divided the Sikhs and Punjab into two zones (1) The Cis-Satlej Sikh States and (2) The Trans Satlej Kingdom of Lahore under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The British Military and political regime in India showed a tremendous interest in Punjab, Sindh and Afghanistan between 1806 and 1849 A.D. Ignoring all this Harbans Singh devoted one lengthy para of his article to Cunningham¹⁵ and his style of presentation of Sikh history.

It was true that Cunningham was a captain in the British army in India but he was rooted in the Romantic Movement in the West. For this very reason he was inspired by nationalism and humanism. Inspired by his European background and the moral aspect of Sikh religion as it has been emphasised by Malcolm before him, Cunningham dealt with Guru Gobind Singh deeply and with sympathy. He referred to the *Adi Granth* as well as the *Dassam Granth* by his two separate Appendixes. He mentioned the Sikh sects also. Harbans Singh had not mentioned it although he wrote that Cunningham's History was popular with the Modern Sikh Scholars in the Punjab in even 1970. Cunningham had criticised the British policy towards the Sikhs after 1843 but he was dismissed for this argument.

After Cunningham, Harbans Singh dealt with Dr. Ernest Trumpp. Again his image of Trumpp is very poor. He describes him as a German Orientalist who was commissioned by the East India Company "in 1869 to make the translation".¹⁶ This statement of the author is factually incorrect. There was no East India Company to rule India after 1858. Further the British idea of having the Sikh Scriptures translated into English had been originated

15. See Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 241.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

with R.N. Cust and in London by 1857.¹⁷ In fact the *Adi Granth* and the *Dassam Granth* had been procured in 1859 by the Punjab administration through a Sodhi chief of Kartarpur namely Sadhu Singh for the English translation to be getting it made in or through the Secretary of State for India. A partial translation of the *Adi Granth* began with Trumpp in 1869 while he was in London. He visited Lahore and Amritsar for this task by 1870. While in Punjab, he had refused to translate the *Dassam Granth* in 1873. We know that this refusal of his was not accepted by the British authorities in London. In this regard a probe was made by the British administration in Calcutta and Lahore. The Punjab officer who conducted this investigation was the D.P.I., C. Pearson, during 1873-75. Trumpp's poor health forced him to abandon the translation project by 1874. We should not forget that L.H. Griffin and Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadour were in touch with Trumpp's work by 1875. These two were concerned with the Punjab History and Sikh tradition.

Unfortunately Harbans Singh jumps from Trumpp to M.A. Macauliffe in the straight way. He did not mention Griffin and Attar Singh or their Historical works on the Punjab Nobility and Guru Gobind Singh respectively.¹⁸ This Sikh Sardar of Bhadour was anti-Namdhari movement, and he had translated some parts of the *Dassam Granth* for the British after 1876. He was a loyalist to the British while he was either in the Lahore Singh Sabha or in the Amritsar Singh Sabha after the establishment of Khalsa College, Amritsar (1893). This attitude of his did not find favour with Harbans Singh who praises Macauliffe for producing his translation of the *Granth Sahib* in six volumes published by the Oxford University Press in 1909. According to him this work "remains the best introduction to the early period of Sikhs' history and to their sacred writings, unsurpassed so far in its scholarship."¹⁹

After Macauliffe, Harbans Singh refers to the emergence of English knowing Sikh scholars such as Bhagat Lakshman Singh, Sewaram Singh and Khazan Singh. The Bhagat Ji was running a newspaper, *Khalsa*, in English language in 1899, and he had written a book entitled *Life of Guru Gobind Singh*, in 1909. He had a contact with Macauliffe and Kahn Singh of Nabha. Sewaram Singh produced his work *The Critical Study of the Life and Teachings of Sri Guru Nanak* in 1904, and Khazan Singh wrote his *The History and Philosophy of Sikh Religion* in 1914. These three scholars were followed by a

17. Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Sahib Over to the West*, Common Wealth, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 9-10.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17, 21-22, 25, 27-28.

19. See Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 242.

many more between 1912 and 1937. They were²⁰ :

1. Sardul Singh Caveeshar who did take part in the Gurdwara Reform Movement and wrote his impression about it.
2. Sir Jogindra Singh who wrote a novel.
3. Puran Singh (*Sisters of the Spinning Wheels* in 1921, and *The Book of the Ten Masters*, in 1926).
4. Bhai Jodh Singh in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, wrote on Sikhism.
5. Teja Singh Ganda Singh, the two together wrote *A Short History of the Sikhs*.

We are told that Bhai Jodh Singh and Teja Singh were devoted to Sikh theology while Ganda Singh's choice was Sikh History. He made History popular with the Indian or Hindu academics in the Punjab and Bengal comprising of :

1. Sita Ram Kohli
2. Hari Ram Gupta
3. Indubhusan Banerjee of Bengal (*Evolution of Sikhism*)
4. Gokal Chand Narang (*Transformation of the Sikhs* in 1912)

All these ten authors (6+4) grappled with the Sikh Reformation and Identity issues caused by the Singh Sabha Renaissance. But they had been blind to the British role in this regard.

Harbans Singh did refer to Khalsa College, Amritsar but only in the context of John Clark Archer of Yale. In 1937 John made 'a sustained study of Sikhism'. He was in touch with Bhai Jodh Singh and Ganda Singh, and had himself come from America. His book was published in 1946 by Princeton University Press. He dealt with Sikhism 'as a venture in the reconciliation of religions'.²¹ He described its doctrines, institutions and places of worship in comparison to Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. According to Harbans Singh the conclusions made by John were tentative and surprising. What did surprise Harbans Singh? He had not mentioned it.

Comparative study of Sikhism continued after John C. Archer also. In 1952 Duncan Greenlees published 'that very admirable book is *The Gospel of the Guru Granth Sahib*. It was published in Madras by Theosophical Publishing House through their World Gospel Series. The book had a translation of *Japuji* and a historical essay of 200 pages. Harbans Singh has praised this work. In the same literary lineage came C.H. Leohlin with his work, entitled as *The Sikhs and Their Scriptures*. He had stayed in India for 30 long years.²²

20. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

21. See Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244.

22. *Ibid.*

After these two above mentioned, Harbans Singh included in his survey the following names or works :

1. Kapur Singh (*Parasharprasa*)
2. Narain Singh (*Our Heritage*)
3. Gopal Singh, Trilochan Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh, Kapur Singh, Bawa Harkrishan Singh and Khushwant Singh worked on the entire *Guru Granth*, published in 1960 by the UNESCO.

Khushwant Singh produced his Two Volumes of *History of the Sikhs* published by Princeton University Press. He had worked under a fellowship created by the Rockefeller Foundation at AMU or Aligarh University.

Harbans Singh closed his survey with reference to

- (1) Gurbachan Singh Talib's *Guru Gobind Singh's Impact on Indian Society* (1967); and
- (2) W.G. Archer, *Paintings of the Sikhs*²³
- (3) Guru Gobind Singh Foundation was established in 1968 and Punjabi University, Patiala was established in 1962. This University has a Department of Guru Granth Sahib Studies in Guru Gobind Singh Bhavan under Harbans Singh.

Stephen Dunning presented an account of the evolution of modern studies on Sikh Religion. His article "The Sikh Religion : An Examination of Some of the Western Studies" dealt with the historical aspect of these studies also. This article began with the following authors and their works²⁴ :

- (1) Max Arthur Macauliffe 'The Sikh Religion : A Symposium'. It was published rather reprinted by Susil Gupta, Calcutta, in 1958.
- (2) E.G. Sher Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism* (Sikh University Press, Lahore, 1944). This book was accepted by C. H. Loehlin in his work *The Sikhs and Their Scripture* (Lucknow : Lucknow Publishing House, 1964), pp. 10, 63.
- (3) R. C. Zaehner, *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths* (Beacon Press : Boston, 1959). He i.e. Zaehner devoted a very short para to Guru Nanak alone and ignored the growth of Sikhism and its popularity after him (1469-1539).

Like Zaehner, Hans-Joachimschoops in his book *The Religions of Man* published in 1968 considered Sikhism as an insignificant sect of Hinduism founded by Guru Nanak to unite the Hindu and Muslim religions around the God Rama.²⁵ Another Western writer named Huston Smith had totally omitted

23. Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 245-46.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 250-51.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 273, f.n. 05.

the Sikhs. It was Jack Finegan's work *The Archaeology of World Religions* published by Princeton University Press in 3 Volumes and in 1952 that included Sikh faith as a separate religion.²⁶ Seen in this light Dunning's article started with the London publication of Macauliffe in 1909. It was actually speaking its reprint by Calcutta in 1958. After Calcutta came Lahore of 1944 that published Sher Singh and Boston and his publication in 1964. In between there occurred Princeton University Press that got published the study by Finegan. Jack Finegan was followed by Arnold Toynbee's *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*. Revised by George S. Fraser this work of Toynbee was published in New York : Macmillan, 1960. Toynbee referred to the establishment of Guruship of the *Adi Granth* by Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. This Scripture thus began to be worshipped as a 'living' Guru to the Orthodox Sikhs. In fact this Scripture "is the most highly venerated".²⁷

Outline of Sikh History as made by S. Dunning need care to understand his article for he had divided this history into the following phases :

1. Sikh History began in 1469 with the birth of Guru Nanak and it covered the execution of Guru Arjan (1605) and the passing away of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. This last Sikh Guru was praised by Toynbee, we know it.
2. In 1716 i.e. eight years after Guru Gobind Singh's death the Muslim oppression in Delhi was noticed by an ambassador of East India Company. The British envoy found the 780 Sikh Prisoners as highly faithful to their faith. Upto 1803, there appeared two books mentioned below :

- (1) George Foster, *A Journey from Bengal to England* in 1798.
- (2) William Franklin, *Memoirs of George Thomas* in 1803.

These two were soon followed by John Malcolm in 1812 and H.H. Wilson in 1848. According to Dunning this second phase of Sikh History came to an end in 1849 that was also the year of J.D. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*. While dealing with Malcolm and Wilson Dunning was very brief.

3. The third phase of History was marked by the British "Protection" of the Punjab between 1849 and 1947. This phase also saw the appointment of Trumpp in 1869" to translate the *Guru Granth*.²⁸ According to Dunning the appointment was made by the East India Company? Was Trumpp really appointed to translate the *Adi Granth*?

26. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

28. Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Dunning's description of Sikh History in his phase second and third is very limited and factually incorrect also. He does not know much or deep about Malcolm and Wilson. He has ignored the Bentinck era of Sikh History (1828-35). Like Harbans Singh, he is factually wrong by saying that Trumpp was appointed by the East India Company in 1869 to translate the *Guru Granth Sahib*. Where was the *Dassam Granth*? This question did not occur to our scholar under consideration.

4. This fourth phase of Dunning begins with the year 1893 and ends by 1909 : This was the Macauliffe era of Sikh or Punjab History. In this phase also Dunning had been partial and subjective. He did not refer to Gurmukh Singh, Giani Ditt Singh or Bhai Kahn Singh of Nabha. Further he had been silent about Bhagat Lakshman Singh and his autobiography published by Ganda Singh. However, he had informed his readers how the work of Macauliffe was followed by Dorothy Field's *The Religion of the Sikhs* (John Murray : London, 1914). Further soon Garret had got published J.D. Cunningham after revising it. In fact, there had appeared in Punjab Market the following works by the year 1930 :

1. C. H. Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs* (London, 1920).
2. J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, 1929.

Along with some more western writers these two were followed by Archer, *A Study in Comparative Religion* (Princeton University Press : 1964).

5. Dunning traced the fifth phase of Sikh History from John Clark Archer's *The Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Muslims, Christians And Ahmadiyahs*. It was a study in comparative religion as mentioned above. After 1946 came the work of C.H. Loehlin (1964, 1966) and W.H. McLeod's *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* in 1968. Dunning had considered McLeod's book as 'the first through unbiased, critical and original western study of the foundations of Sikhism'.²⁹ After writing this, Dunning had dealt with the four western scholars namely (1) Trumpp (2) Macauliffe (3) Archer, and (4) McLeod.

How had Dunning dealt with these four western scholars of Sikhism? It is not enough to sum him up in this regard. Significantly his description of each author is lengthy and critical in approach. His method becomes evident when we examine his sub-headings that he did assign to the above four writers in the following way :

1. "Trumpp : Sikhism As a Hindu Sect."³⁰

29. Bhatia, Spencer (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 253.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-57.

2. "Macauliffe : Sikh Orthodoxy Responds."³¹

3. "Archer : Sikhism As 'Reconciliation'."³²

4. "McLeod : The Case Against Muslim Influence."³³

Trumpp had received by Dunning a space of $3\frac{1}{2}$ printed pages. Macauliffe covered his $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages, Archer had been given $5\frac{1}{4}$ pages, and McLeod got $5\frac{1}{3}$ pages. Obviously McLeod had been given the maximum space or consideration by Dunning. Our author under review did not believe that McLeod had simply restated the position of Trumpp.³⁴ We are further told how Guru Nanak had used the Punjabi word *man* in a very broad sense to glorify God and to save human beings from *haumai*. McLeod found Guru Nanak's greatest positive originality due to his understanding of 'The Divine Self Expression'.³⁵ In fact he was the first western scholar to appreciate the importance of *Simran* in Sikhism. Briefly speaking, McLeod wrote that Muslim influence on Guru Nanak was 'minimal and indirect'. Sikhism was closer to Hinduism. As a faith it was without a relation to the Christian faith.³⁶ While dealing with McLeod and the relationship between Sikhism and Christianity, Dunning had praised C.H. Leohlin's position in this matter. Further, Dunning also had glorified Macauliffe and informs his reader as to how his volumes were praised or used by Dorothy Field also. We know that Macauliffe had shown the merits of Sikhism for both Humanity and the British Empire. The British had indeed refused to patronize him or to save him from his financial difficulties. Like J.D. Cunningham, M.A. Macauliffe suffered in his Job, nay even in health. His popularity among the English educated Sikhs was also due to the efforts of Bhagat Lakshman Singh and Kahn Singh of Nabha. Dunning had been silent about these two Sikh scholars and their help to Macauliffe. He had also ignored the authorities of Indian office Library. In spite of these limitations Dunning had reminded us how the faith of Guru Nanak and his successors was as great as the reform of or by Luther in Europe. Obviously Guru Nanak was a Protestant reformer. He was not respected by Trumpp and for this very reason Macauliffe had condemned this German Missionary who had considered Sikhism as a Hindu Sect marked by Pantheism and Theism. This view of Trumpp was rejected by Archer also. He was infact very near to the contents of Sikhism as stressed by Jodh Singh through theology.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-61.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-67.

33. *Op. cit.*, pp. 267-71.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

LOOKING AT AN INDIAN COURT THROUGH WESTERN EYES: PAINTING AT THE KAPURTHALA DURBAR (c. 1890-1920)

*Jagtej Kaur Grewal**

By the early nineteenth century Sikh princely states in Punjab had started to engage with the British turning to them for an assurance of protection in case of any military aggression among themselves and more importantly against the expansionist plans of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Raja Fateh Singh of Kapurthala was among the first to negotiate with the British on behalf of the Sikhs and later signed treaties with them in 1809 and 1811. The assurance of protection provided in these treaties played an important role in his regaining the territories he had fled in the face of Ranjit Singh moving his troops towards Kapurthala in 1825.¹ Meanwhile British power continued to grow in Punjab with the *coup d'état* being the annexation of the kingdom of Lahore within a decade of the death of Ranjit Singh. The now unchallenged dominance of the British in the region and the growing realization of the Sikh rulers that their sovereignty was to a large extent subject to the pleasure of the new rulers of India led them to unequivocally side with the British. By the middle of the nineteenth century Kapurthala had emerged as one of the staunchest allies of the British in Punjab exemplified by the support extended by the state in 1857 by helping to secure the Jullundur doab and providing troops where needed.² After 1857 the British crown took over from the Company and with Queen Victoria being proclaimed the Empress of India the princes were assured of their territorial possessions, and dynastic and other privileges. Now British culture and Western ideals began to make more significant inroads into oriental conservatism and conventions and the princes of Punjab were among those most enthusiastic in adapting to the customs and manners of the British which found a reflection in various spheres such as state administration, education

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1. Griffin, L.H., *The Rajas of the Punjab*, Manu Publications, New Delhi, 1977, pp.521-23.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 576-86.

with them the winds of change that had started to blow in the artscape of the region. Lahore as capital of the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh attracted both amateur and professional artists from Britain and Europe such as G.T. Vigne, W.G. Osborne, Emily Eden and August T. Schoeft to name a few.⁷ The presence of these artists along with some Indian painters, such as Jiwan Ram, who were conversant with Western stylistic and technical norms, became the conduit of a style characterised by naturalistic rendering of objects depicted from a single point perspective, modelled in chiaroscuro and painted in the medium of oil paints among the artists of the region. The Punjab artists working at the Lahore durbar were among the first in the region to have access to such works of art and to adapt to Western stylistic conventions, which is visible in the works of both Kishan Singh and Kehar Singh.⁸ Their move to Kapurthala marks the earliest evidence of the initiation of this style here. Therefore, during this time two types of painting are visible one, miniature painting in the *Pahari* style and second, works in the emerging Indo-British manner. Gradually towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century European style painting came to dominate the patronage extended by the rajas. After the death of Randhir Singh in 1870 his son Raja Kharak Singh ruled for just seven years before his son Jagatjit Singh became the ruler in 1877.

Maharaja Jagatjit Singh (r. 1890-1947) was a minor when he came to the throne gaining full powers of reign in 1890 and had a long, peaceful rule till the state acceded to the Indian Union. During his minority the affairs of the state were looked after by a succession of very able British officers such as L.H. Griffin and C. Montgomery along with a state council.⁹ This and Jagatjit Singh's education on the British model resulted in the creation of an atmosphere conducive for greater impact of Western ideas and manners on the young ruler and consequently the state.¹⁰ This became evident in many ways such as his great love for English and French languages, becoming enamoured of France

7. Archer, W.G., *Paintings of the Sikhs*, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1966, pp. 79-82.
8. Goswamy, B.N., *Piety and Splendour, Sikh Heritage in Art*, National Museum, Delhi, 2000, p. 6.
9. Nijjar, B.S., *Panjab Under the British Rule (1849-1947)*, Vol. II, K.B. Publications, New Delhi, p. 1; *Punjab District Gazetteer, Jullundur District and Kapurthala State 1904, Part A*, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1908, p. 8.
10. The education modelled on the British system of the heirs of princely states came to be viewed as an important way of ensuring a greater consonance of the native states with British policies in the future. See, Ramusack, Barbara N., *The Indian Princes and Their States*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, p. 130.

and its culture, the introduction of a Western pattern of education that also included free education for girls and electrification of the capital among others. His interest in the West resulted in frequent travel to Europe and Britain over the years and that further sharpened his growing appreciation of the artistic styles practised there. This was to manifest itself in his patronage of an art that echoed Baroque and Neoclassical stylistic conventions. One example of these leanings of the Maharaja is the commission given to a French architect M. Marcel to design the Jagatjit palace modelled on the palace of Versailles.¹¹ The fascination with the Versailles palace and the decoration of walls and ceilings such as those of the formal dining room with gilding and scenes of nymphs and maidens in sylvan surroundings is just one indicator of the Maharaja's love for baroque splendour. He also patronised the construction of a Gurdwara and the Moorish mosque, the latter designed by another French architect M. Manteaux. Jagatjit Singh emerged as an interested patron of the arts with an informed sense of personal taste that heralded a shift in the art patronised in the state. It is during his reign that munificent patronage was extended to British and European artists who brought to the durbar the tradition of a watered down Neoclassicism that was still favoured at the Royal Academy exhibitions in their countries. His interest in the arts can be gauged from the fact that students from the Mayo School of Art under the guidance of the principal S.N. Gupta were engaged for embellishment of the dome of the mosque by the durbar.¹² Apart from the foreign artists who worked for the Raja at Kapurthala or in Europe he also built an extensive collection of Western art during his tours. Jagatjit Singh's fascination with Western cultural idioms found expression in the patronage of an art that presented an almost tangible representation of reality on a larger than life scale that in his eyes must have mirrored royal grandeur more successfully. The commissions for paintings



Lahora Singh,
Diwan Hari Chand, c.1915,
 Collection : Sainik School,
 Kapurthala
 (Fig. 1)

11. Michell, George, *The Royal Palaces of India*, Thames and Hudson Limited, London, 1994, p. 222.

12. Punjab State Archives, *Decorations for new mosque done by the students of Mayo School of Arts, Lahore*, F. No. M/3-8-30, B. No. 150, Patiala, 1930, np.

essentially comprised of portraits of the ruler and members of the royal family, and durbar scenes. Interestingly even among Indian painters those found favour that had mastered the stylistic conventions of academic-realism and the technique of oil paints on canvas such as the Punjab artist Lahora Singh who made copies of two portraits of Kapurthala Rajas by a European artist and painted a portrait of Diwan Hari Chand (Fig. 1) around 1915.

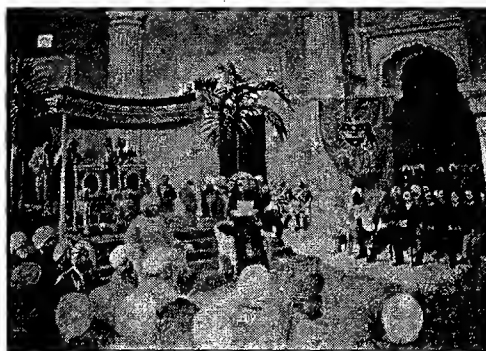
The earliest record of the work of British artists at Kapurthala dates to 1890. The year marked the investiture of full powers of reign upon Jagatjit Singh and it was the year he commissioned oil paintings to commemorate the occasion. The painter was Vereker M. Hamilton (1856-1931) who accompanied by his wife Lilian Hamilton (1865-1939), also an artist, travelled to India in 1886 where he was commissioned to paint the battle of Peiwar Kotal in Afghanistan. A Scottish painter known for his military and historical works Vereker painted a number of battle scenes, events from the mutiny and portraits of important as also anonymous military figures during his stay in India. In 1890 he and his wife were invited to Kapurthala to paint a portrait of the young Raja and were provided with a suite of rooms and studio where Jagatjit Singh sat for his portrait.¹³ The enthusiasm and personal interest of Jagatjit Singh comes across in the numerous sittings he gave to the artist during which Lilian too sketched the Maharaja.¹⁴ The three quarter length portrait shows the young over weight Jagatjit Singh seated on the golden lion throne holding a sword in his left hand, attired in a gold embroidered red coloured robe, green *churidar* and an ivory-coloured turban adorned with an elaborate turban ornament comprising the famous Kapurthala emeralds. The image is striking for the studied informality of the pose, the direct gaze and the frank portrayal of Jagatjit Singh that in no way dilutes the regal splendour and also refers to a certain understanding and comfort between the artist and his subject.

Another British painter Frederick Swynnerton (1849/57-1918?) was commissioned to paint two works for the durbar. Swynnerton came to India around 1889 and stayed in the country for more than two decades spending considerable time in north India. He painted different subjects like portraits

13. Hamilton, I., *Listening for the Drums*, Faber and Faber Limited, London, 1944, p. 205.

14. Lilian's sketches of Jagatjit Singh led to a design for a medal with the image of the Maharaja on one side and of an elephant on the reverse. This pleased him so much that he ordered the casting of the bronze medal and the presentation of the same to the twelve ministers of the state. *Ibid.*

of princes and the British in India, military figures and battle scenes.¹⁵ The artist, resident at Simla for a while, also participated in the annual exhibition of the Simla Fine Art Society.¹⁶ It was usual for the artists to congregate in Simla in the summer months when the British and the princes came here, hoping to make a mark through the annual art exhibition and in the process brightening their chances of winning commissions for paintings. Swynnerton worked for the Kapurthala durbar between 1890-93 painting a portrait of Jagatjit Singh in 1890 and a scene of the accession durbar in 1893. In the portrait the Maharaja, attired in a richly embroidered red *jama* worn over a gold-coloured *achkan*, stands with his right hand resting on the hilt of a sword and the left hand is placed on the armrest of a sumptuously carved throne with a draped curtain in the backdrop, a setting that approximates the background seen in photographs. He wears a bejewelled crown that is placed over the turban, a large diamond studded belt buckle glistens and many necklaces of large sized pearls adorn his neck. The pose, the imperious look and the bejewelled splendour of the Maharaja are employed by the artist to present a dignified image of a potentate and the ruler of the destiny of his subjects. Indian rulers were increasingly conscious of the slow yet inexorable undermining of their authority and their gradual relegation to the role of ceremonial figures under the British and in works like these they seem to deny this reality. The second work a large



F. Swynnerton, *Accession Durbar*, 1893,
Collection : Sainik School, Kapurthala
(Fig. 2)

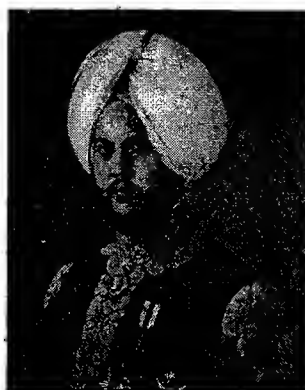
sized painting titled 'Accession Durbar' (Fig. 2) captures the solemnity of the investiture ceremony and the splendour of the court. The focal point of the composition are the figures of Jagatjit Singh, who is seated, and the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab James Lyall who stands beside him. On either side are ranged the courtiers and British dignitaries attending the ceremony. Behind the Maharaja is a green-gold canopy under which are placed two thrones

15. Paintings of military figures by Swynnerton are part of the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Kolkata.

16. Buck, E.J., *Simla, Past and Present*, The Times Press, Bombay, 1925, pp. 135, 137.

approached by a set of red-carpeted steps. The figures are portrait likenesses and Swynnerton employs the device of turning a few heads towards the viewer thus drawing us effortlessly into the scene. This work evokes the real equation as it prevailed in the relations between the native rulers and the British with the officer of the raj placed on an equal footing with the Maharaja.

Another artist who painted the Kapurthala ruler was Rudolph Swoboda (1859-1914), an Austrian painter who had been commissioned by Queen Victoria to paint her Indian subjects. Swoboda travelled to India in 1886 and stayed for a period of about two years. Here to capture the people of India he accomplished it with a sense of empathy and genuine interest in the subject, which clearly reflects in his paintings.¹⁷ His curiosity about and fascination for the people of India encompassed both British India and the Princely states extending from ordinary Indians to royalty. He travelled extensively in north India painting villagers from Punjab, inhabitants of Kashmir, soldiers and so on. His portrait of Maharaja Jagatjit Singh (Fig.3), dated 1898, is an image devoid of the usual accoutrements of royalty such as jewelled turban ornaments and multi-strand necklaces. In this half-length portrait Jagatjit Singh is attired in a gold embroidered green bandgala, a gold edged white turban and the only adornments are the honours bestowed upon him. Swoboda invests the figure of Jagatjit Singh with an innate humane quality and dignity bridging the distance between the ruler and public with ease. Here the image, of an individual and not a figure emblematic of royalty, inhabits a personal space outside the sphere of the official formal portrait.



Rudolph Swoboda,
Maharaja Jagatjit Singh, 1898,
Collection : H.H. Brigadier
Sukhjot Singh, Kapurthala

In 1905 in Paris the Maharaja commissioned a work the magnificence of which is such that it has come to be referred to as 'The King of the World' by the Kapurthala family. The artist chosen by the Maharaja was Theobald Chartran (1849-1907) a well-established portraitist popular among the elegant

17. Greig, Charles, "Artists from Afar: Company Painters in the Princely Courts of India 1770-1900" from Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie (ed.), *Portraits in Princely India 1700-1947*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2008, p. 28.

set in society. The larger than life size image depicts young Jagatjit Singh seated on an elaborately carved golden lion throne his gloved left hand placed atop a sword and the right hand pointing down. Attired in a richly gold embroidered black *jama*, the most sumptuous jewels adorn his neck, an elaborate diamond tiara and aigrette adorn the turban, and his pose and demeanour are imperial. The portrait is in the neo-classical tradition of portraits of Napoleon by artists such as David where the emperor is apotheosised. This painting reflects Europe's image of the Maharajas who were seen as fabulously rich figures from exotic India and at the same time for Jagatjit Singh it helps to project a kingly aura in pictorial terms.

The next commission, ambitious in terms of its scale, was awarded to P. Tennyson Cole (1862-1939), a British artist. A royal academician he had worked for the aristocracy in his country as exemplified by the portraits of King Edward VII, King George V and the Sixth Marquess of Donegal among others. An itinerant painter he travelled to various parts of the colonial empire visiting India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and on his way back from India stopping over in Egypt. He was in India for a period of five years during the First World War and considered himself an authority on the country by the end of his stay.¹⁸ Cole set up his studio in Calcutta and from here travelled 'up the country' visiting various princely states to win commissions to paint portraits of the Maharajas. In Punjab from 1916 to 1918 he worked for the princely states of Kapurthala and Patiala. Cole first visited Kapurthala in July 1917 and was back for a period of seven months in March 1918 to commence work that involved six life-size portraits of past and present Kapurthala rajas – the ancestors represented are Baba Jassa Singh and Rajas



Tennyson Cole,
Baba Jassa Singh, 1918,
Collection : Sainik School,
Kapurthala
(Fig. 4)

18. This is borne by an interview that he gave to the *New York Times* when he travelled to the United States in which he waxed eloquent on India and Indian princes whom he claimed to know because of having lived among them. He spoke about what the princes actually thought of the British in spite of their public posture of allegiance and of how discontent against British rule was on the rise among ordinary Indians. "Art Here Pleases English Painter," *New York Times*, 1922, March 5.

Fateh Singh, Bhag Singh and Nihal Singh.¹⁹ The two contemporary figures portrayed are Maharaja Jagatjit Singh and his son Tikka Paramjit Singh. These works are in the best traditions of academic realism. Both Jagatjit Singh and Paramjit Singh sat for their portraits while for the portraits of the ancestors Cole studied miniature paintings, literary texts and in all probability accessed the garments and jewels in the state treasury as these are depicted in the paintings. Of the paintings of the ancestors that of Baba Jassa Singh (Fig. 4) is a fine example of how the artist strove to paint portraits and not idealized representations of the ancestors. Cole based the likeness of the figure on the equestrian miniature in the Kapurthala collection and his study of 'Jassa Singh Binod' so as to understand and convey the essence of this great warrior and pious Sikh who helped rebuild the Golden Temple after its desecration by the Afghans. He depicts Jassa Singh attired simply with his armaments lying beside him seated in front of a curtain which is drawn back to reveal the Golden Temple in the distance. The image conveys the essence of this sagacious warrior and leader of the Sikhs. This commission is a symbol of how these works, that partly due to their scale were meant to be viewed in a more public sphere, became emblems of a glorious past and aimed to reinforce the kingly credentials through portraits depicting 'family lineage'.²⁰

The above account of the patronage of the arts at Kapurthala points to the changing sensibilities of the royal patrons. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the preference for oil paintings done in the academic-realistic manner – works which capture the glister of the jewels, the texture of the brocades, the pomp of royalty and on a scale that awes – reflects the changing political and social situation. The patronage of Western artists and popularity of the new stylistic and technical norms speaks of how the royal patrons sought to emulate the new ruling class in their choice of art. A study of representations of the Maharajas brings forth the fact that visual arts, paintings as also photographs, reinforce an image of royal splendour with the princes represented

19. Punjab State Archives, *Purchase of six portraits in oil colours from Mr. T. Cole*, F. No. P/3-40-18, B. No. 54, Patiala, 1918, p. 2.

20. Cole undertook a similar commission in 1916 for the Patiala durbar where he painted eight portraits starting from the founder of the dynasty Baba Ala Singh up to Tikka Yadvinder Singh. In a similar instance the Indo-German painter A.H. Muller was commissioned to render the lineage of the Jaipur royal family, which is discussed by V. Sachdev and G. Tilloston. See, Sachdev, Vibhuti and Giles Tilloston, "Depicting Kingship: Portraits of the Maharajas of Jaipur" from Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie (ed.) *Portraits in Princely India 1700-1947*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2008.

in traditional clothes and usually with an extraordinary display of precious jewels. This is how the world viewed the Maharajas, as flamboyant colourfully attired and bejewelled figures. The British had encouraged this persona by insisting that the native princes appear in their traditional attire for all public and ceremonial occasions. As rulers of native states the princes were important for the success of the policy of indirect rule and for maintaining the cohesiveness of British rule in India and by insisting on traditional costume the British sought to reinforce the princes' 'traditional' role among their subjects.²¹ Portraitists took great care in rendering with great tactility the exquisite silks, rich brocades, large emeralds, rubies, diamonds and pearls adorning the figures. For the princes these portraits and durbar scenes were an attempt to record on canvas what was being lost on the ground, the sovereignty of the ruler who now answered to the British. The further they moved away from their glorious past the greater was the desire to be represented as absolute rulers of yore which was fulfilled through the commissioning of these works. It is also interesting to note that European artists bring in a fresh approach to their subject that is free from any underlying associations of the ruler and the ruled. The traditional representations of the rajas in miniature paintings, where the profile faces and formal poses evoke royalty, have now given way to a portrayal where the artist while imaging royalty more importantly presents the individual. Therefore, a process of transformation comes about not just in the pictorial language but also in the representation of the figure. A significant consequence of the increasing popularity of this stylistic genre among patrons influenced Indian artists who sought to assimilate Western stylistic conventions in their work thus setting Indian painting on a new path.

21. The British were keen that separateness between them and the Indians be maintained and difference of attire played a major role in establishing this distinctness. Cohn presents a detailed analysis of how clothes came to signify deeper economic, political and cultural connotations in colonial India. Cohn, Bernard S., *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1997, p. 125

APPROACHES TO MASTER TARA SINGH AS A SIKH LEADER

J.S. Grewal*

In the words of Khushwant Singh, Master Tara Singh bestrode 'the Sikh political world like a colossus' for more than 30 years.¹ Much has been written on Master Tara Singh. Several individuals wrote on him during his lifetime, both before and after Independence. Several other scholars have written on Master Tara Singh more recently, both in Punjabi and English. The works in which Master Tara Singh figures prominently were written from different perspectives which influence the interpretation of Master Tara Singh's position and his role in the politics of the Sikhs, the Punjab, and the Indian subcontinent.

The contemporary biographers of Master Tara Singh were Sikhs, and they had a frank appreciation for him. For example, Mahinder Singh gave the title *Sardar-i Azam* (The Great Leader) to his biography of Master Tara Singh in the early years after Independence, and wrote in the preface to his work: "At last, three quarters of a century after the Sikh Raj, the nation got a leader who could be compared with any of the greatest leaders of the world."²

We may go into a little detail for the earliest biographical study by Durlab Singh in the early 1940s : *Master Tara Singh: The Valiant Fighter*. The author wrote also on Subhas Bose as 'The Rebel President', and on Tagore as 'the Sentinel of the East'. He wrote the life stories of Guru Gobind Singh, Mastafa Kamal Pasha, and Swami Ram Tirath, apart from biographical works in Urdu and Punjabi. Durlab Singh was a versatile writer who wrote with empathy.

Durlab Singh emphasized first of all that without any privileges attached to birth Master Tara Singh became a remarkable man, a topmost leader, and a

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1. Quoted, Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, p.37.
2. Mahinder Singh, *Sardar-i-Azam : Master Tara Singh*, Amritsar : Singh Brothers, 1950, preface, p. 6.

really great personality, occupying the most responsible position in his community. 'We can safely say that after the Sikh raj no Sikh could ever capture such vast influence in the community as has come to the lot of Master Tara Singh.'³

An event of great significance in his life was his decision to become a Singh through baptism of the double-edged sword, which was administered to him by Sant Attar Singh who himself was a devout Khalsa. The name 'Tara Singh' was actually given to him by Sant Attar Singh who is believed to have said, 'Young man, you are no more Nanak Chand: you are Tara Singh henceforth, may God help you finding salvation for yourself and also for your community.'⁴ This indeed was a genuinely sought conversion and it had a profound influence on Master Tara Singh throughout his life. He dedicated his life to the service of the Panth.

According to Durlab Singh, Master Tara Singh became known for his courage and self-sacrifice. He volunteered to join the *shahidi jatha* (band of martyrs) for reconstructing the wall of the Rakabganj Gurdwara in Delhi in 1919.⁵ In 1921, he was 'requisitioned' by some of the Akali leaders to take part in the Akali Movement as a whole time worker, and he continued to work for the SGPC and the Shiromani Akali Dal for the rest of his life.⁶ In the 'Akali Leaders' Case', Master Tara Singh stated in the court that he was the person 'most responsible' for the Nabha agitation, and for the decision of the SGPC to take up this issue.⁷ In another statement he argued at length that the Government for its own reasons and purpose was concocting a case for 'conspiracy'.⁸ The courage of Master Tara Singh was equally evident from his support for the Akalis of the State against the Maharaja of Patiala.⁹

Durlab Singh appreciates Master Tara Singh's stand against the Motilal Nehru Report of 1928, and also his decision to work with the Congress in contrast with Baba Kharak Singh who insisted on total dissociation. Only the intensely patriotic but well-wishers of the community were welcome in the Sikh Panth. Master Tara Singh's decision to take an Akali Jatha to Peshawar in sympathy with the Pathans, who had been brutally treated by the bureaucrats

3. Durlab Singh, *Master Tara Singh: The Valiant Fighter*, in Verinder Grover (ed.), *Master Tara Singh*, New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1995, pp. 3-5.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 37-9.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-8.

during the Civil Disobedience in 1930, marked the fall of Baba Kharak Singh and the rise of Master Tara Singh to the top of Sikh politics. Master Tara Singh was in jail when he was unanimously elected President of the SGPC in 1930.¹⁰ Appreciating Master Tara Singh's stand against the Unionist Premier, Sir Sikander Hayat, Durlab Singh observes:

Master Tara Singh is the one man in the province and the Shiromani Akali Dal the only organization which remained unshaken even in spite of the numerous disgraceful manners in which the popular rulers of the province tried to assault them.¹¹

Master Tara Singh's letter to Sikander Hayat 'would remain to serve as a precious document in the Sikh politics and will also throw light on the character of the Akali leader'.¹² Master Tara Singh's opposition to Pakistan was a part of his general attitude towards the Muslim League as well as the Unionists. Finally, Master Tara Singh groomed a large number of Akali leaders who played an important role in Sikh affairs.¹³

Baldev Raj Nayar sets out to study 'the Indian case' in the context of the general problem of building a 'nation' out of the diverse groups in the erstwhile colonies of Europe in Asia and Africa. As he puts it, social diversity resulting in divisive pressures in 'the new nations' poses a serious problem for those engaged in 'the gigantic task of nation-building'. The people of the Indian subcontinent had suffered a setback for nation-building in 1947 when India was partitioned 'on the basis of religion'. The new constitution of India embodied a delicate balance between the need for a strong central Government and the recognition of regional diversity. Furthermore, the constitution established a 'secular state' in India, not identified with any particular religion. Equality of opportunity was provided for all in public employment. The most important challenge to 'national unity' and 'the secular state' came from the growth of regionalism based on linguistic and cultural ties. Another type of threat to the existing political framework in India was religion-based communalism. The examples of communal groups given by Nayar are the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the All India Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League. 'Casteism' is the third divisive factor. However, Nayar is concerned primarily with the demand for a new state in the Punjab, its social and political context,

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-66.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-6.

and its nature: whether it was language-based regional demand or a region based communal one. The basis and the origin of the demand, and the motivating factors behind it, could throw light on the future development of the political conflict in the Punjab.¹⁴ We can see that, in Nayar's perspective, 'regional' and 'communal' demands are obstacles in the path of nation-building and a 'secular State'.

About the nature of the demand for the Punjabi-speaking state, Nayar refers to a speech by Master Tara Singh during the elections of 1951-52 in which he said that it was wrong to allege that he wanted 'a Sikh state'; he desired only 'a state based on the Punjabi language'. He also said that his manifesto was 'the Panth' and he frankly wanted 'Sikh rule'. In one of his articles, Master Tara Singh wrote that he wanted a Sikh majority state which, furthermore, should have internal autonomy like that of Kashmir. On another occasion he said that the Sikhs wanted *azadi*. Nayar gives other instances of Master Singh dwelling more on the Sikh religion and the Sikh Panth than on the Punjabi language.¹⁵

According to Nayar, there was an important background to the demand for a linguistic state. The doctrine which provided the basic motive force for reform among the Sikhs was that of 'a separate political entity'. It was argued that Sikhism was not a religion like other religions; it was concerned with the whole activity of man in the context of this world. 'Religion and politics are said to be combined in Sikhism.' Master Tara Singh maintained that the Panth was a political organization founded upon religion. 'Without political organization and participation in politics, the Sikh religion cannot survive'. Master Tara Singh was reported to have said that 'the Khalsa Panth will either be a ruler or a rebel. It has no third role to play'.¹⁶ On one occasion Master Tara Singh also said that 'the Sikhs are Hindus', but he did not say so because then the Hindus would absorb the Sikhs.¹⁷

Nayar refers to Master Tara Singh resigning from the Congress party and actively engaging in the recruitment of Sikhs to the British army through the Khalsa Defence of India League. Thus, he went against the Congress policy of non-cooperation with the war effort. This was regarded as 'anti-nationalist' by the nationalists. In 1942 Master Tara Singh decided against the Akali Dal joining the Quit India movement on a party basis, but allowing individual

14. Nayar, *Minority Politics in the Punjab*, pp. 1-10.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-41.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

members of the Akali Dal to join. In June 1943 the Akali Dal issued a statement on the Azad Punjab scheme which was criticized by Baba Kharak Singh who charged Master Tara Singh of being an agent of British imperialism. In August 1944 Master Tara Singh declared that the Sikhs were a nation and if there was going to be a division of the country they should not be made slaves of Pakistan or Hindustan. Master Tara Singh's negotiations with the Muslim League were a source of irritation for the Congress.¹⁸ Thus, there was a background of mutual mistrust between Master Tara Singh and the national leaders, and between the Akali Dal and the Congress. Nayar does not place the apparently contradictory statements of Master Tara Singh in their context.

Soon after the partition of India and the Punjab, which was marked by murder and mass migration, Master Tara Singh announced in February 1948 that 'we want to have a province where we can safeguard our culture and our tradition', not a sovereign Sikh state but a province within the Indian federation.¹⁹ Like some of the contemporary critics of Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal, Nayar argues that the Akali demand for a Punjabi-speaking province was a cloak for the objectives which were not cultural but political, or rather communal. Master Tara Singh made no secret of his motives even in 1961: 'The Sikhs as a distinctive community, he emphasized, must be preserved and they could be preserved only in a "homeland" of their own. Left in their present position, he asserted, the Sikhs would be gradually "absorbed" by the majority community'. His thesis was clear. For the protection of the Sikh symbols of distinction, the Sikhs needed political power.²⁰ Nayar does not empathize with this position.

Nayar comes to the conclusion that the Akali demand for the Punjabi Suba was a continuum of the Akali concern for preserving Sikh identity from the very beginning of the Akali movement. In one respect, the demand for Punjabi Suba represented 'the political aspiration of a religious group to nationhood, especially in view of the historical memories of having been the sovereign rulers of the Punjab'. In another respect, it represented a channeling of the social problem of religious unorthodoxy into the political system. It was believed that a religious community by itself was unable to handle the problem without political power. The 'nationalist leadership' opposed the demand as 'a potential threat' to the 'secular regime' and to 'Indian national unity'. The

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-92.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.

conflict over the demand was not merely a conflict between Hindus and Sikhs, but between two groups of leaders among the Sikhs themselves: the Akali leaders, who made 'communal demands' in the name of the Sikh community, and Congress leaders who subscribed to 'secular nationalism'.²¹

Nayar goes on to talk of the Sikh political leaders, their social background, their ideology, and their position. The Akali leaders were able to mobilize political support on the basis of the appeal of the Sikh Panth as a separate political entity. But this was not an enduring commitment, and a large number of them left the Akali Dal to join the Congress, introducing a conflict between personal and group goals. To cope with the Akali Dal in the political field, the Congress party in the Punjab produced a strong leader, who was also a Sikh, and provided a disproportionately large share to the Sikh leaders in the party. The two leaders strengthened and consolidated their position at the cost of other leaders. The struggle became a personal contest between the two top leaders of the two political parties.²² Nayar does not entertain the possibility that two different ideologies were also involved in the contest.

Nayar does recognize, however, that Master Tara Singh held a unique position among the Sikh masses till 1962 as the only consistent and long suffering upholder of the doctrine of the Panth as a separate entity, and as 'a selfless and dedicated leader without personal ambition'. After 1962, Master Tara Singh's position changed, and his advancing age precluded the possibility that he could even give the Akalis the vigorous and determined leadership he had provided in the past. However, his political career did suggest that Akali leadership in the future might seek to project his image to secure popular support if it decided to persist 'in the policy of challenging the forces of secular nationalism'.²³ Though the image of Master Tara Singh could inspire popular support, Nayar does not see any relevance of Master Tara Singh's ideas.

Bipan Chandra brackets the Gurdwara Reform Movement of the Akalis with the struggle for temple entry in Kerala. Both illustrated the influence of nationalism on the struggle 'to reform Indian social and religious institutions and practices' leading to a clash between the reformers and the colonial authorities. The struggle for reform tended to merge with the anti-imperialist struggle. 'The Akali Movement developed on a purely religious issue but ended up as a powerful episode of India's freedom struggle.'²⁴ All credit goes to the

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-68.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4, 149.

24. Bipan Chandra and others, *India's Struggle for Independence*, New Delhi: Penguin Books (India), 1989 (rpt.), p. 224.

national movement represented by the Congress.

Bipan Chandra gives an outline of the Akali Movement from 1920 to 1925. More than 30,000 men and women were imprisoned in connection with the movement, nearly 400 died, and over 2,000 were wounded. The Akali objective was to free the Gurdwaras from the control of the Udasi *mahants* who were ignorant and corrupt. Bipan Chandra goes on to underline that these *mahants* were not Hindus, though 'many ignorant people believed that they were Hindus because they did not wear their hair long'. Tens of Gurdwaras were liberated in 1920 rather easily, as in the case of the Golden Temple. The Government permitted its manager to resign, and let the control of the Temple pass into the hands of the reformers.²⁵

Before the end of 1920, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) was formed in a representative assembly of nearly 10,000 reformers to control and manage the Golden Temple and the Akal Takht, and the Shiromani Akali Dal was established to organize the struggle on a systematic basis. The backbone of the Akali Dal was formed by the Jat peasantry while the leadership was in the hands of 'the nationalist intellectuals'. Under the influence of the Non-Cooperation Movement the Akali Dal and the SGPC accepted complete non-violence as their creed.²⁶

The Nankana tragedy was the first landmark in the Akali struggle, quickening the march towards *Swaraj*. The nationalist leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and Lala Lajpat Rai visited Nankana to show their solidarity. The Government adopted a two-pronged policy in view of the emerging integration of the Akali movement with the national movement: to win over the moderates who were concerned with religious reform, and to suppress the extremists who were anti-imperialist. The Akalis were heartened by the support of the nationalist forces, and began to see their movement as a part of the national struggle. The non-cooperation nationalist section within the SGPC took control and passed a resolution in favour of non-cooperation in May 1921. A major battle was won by the Akalis in the 'Keys Affair' in October 1921 when the Government surrendered the keys of the *Toshakhana* of the Golden Temple to the SGPC. Master Tara Singh at this time was one of the prominent 'militant nationalist leaders' of the SGPC.²⁷ The use of 'militant nationalist leader' for Master Tara Singh is grossly inappropriate and highly tendentious.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-5.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-9.

The heroic non-violent struggle around the Guru ka Bagh Gurdwara shook the whole of India. C.F. Andrews characterized the action of the colonial bureaucracy as 'inhuman, brutal, foul, cowardly and incredible to an English man'. It was 'a moral defeat of England'. The Congress Working Committee appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of the police. The Government had to climb down and resorted to a face saving device. The 'militant Akalis' now looked for another opportunity of confronting the Government because the country was not yet liberated. The SGPC took up the cause of the Maharaja of Nabha who had been forced to abdicate in July 1923. The Jaito *morcha* did not involve religion. It did not get much support from the rest of the country. The Government succeeded in winning over the moderate Akalis with the promise of legislation, and the Gurdwaras Act was passed in July 1925. Apart from its own achievement, the Akali movement made 'a massive contribution' to the political development in the Punjab. It awakened the Punjab peasantry, and the people of the princely states.²⁸

However, the Akali movement had certain weaknesses which had long term consequences. It encouraged 'a certain religiosity' which would be used later by 'communalism'. Bipan Chandra suggests that the Akali movement 'divided itself' into three streams, representing three separate political strands which could not remain united as a distinct Akali party after the Gurdwaras Act. The moderates went back to loyalist politics and became a part of the Unionist Party. The nationalist Akalis joined the mainstream nationalist movement, becoming a part of the Gandhian or leftist kirti-kisan and Communist wings. 'The third stream, which kept the title Akali, although it was not the sole heir of the Akali movement, used to the full the prestige of the movement among the rural masses, and became the political organ of Sikh communalism, mixing religion and politics and inculcating the ideology of political separatism from Hindus and Muslims'. Before 1947, politics of the Akali Dal constantly vacillated between nationalist and loyalist politics.²⁹ Bipan Chandra's analysis of the situation has the merit of plausibility but it is a misleading oversimplification.

In their *India After Independence*, Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee observe that from the very beginning the Akali leadership had adopted certain 'communal themes' which became 'the constitutive elements of Sikh communalism' in all its phases. This is reflected in the movement for a Punjabi-speaking state. Denying the ideal of a secular polity,

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-9.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

the Akalis asserted that religion and politics could not be separated, and the Sikhs were being subjected to discrimination, humiliation, and victimization. No evidence other than of the denial of Punjabi Suba, however, was offered in support of the charges. There was also a constant anti-Hindu rhetoric. A significant feature of Akali politics was the use of the institutions and symbols of Sikh religion in order to harness religious sentiments and fervour to communal appeal. Hindu communalism too was very active in the Punjab at the same time as a counter-point to Sikh communalism.³⁰ In this perspective, the Akalis alone are communal and not those Sikhs who were aligned with the Congress.

Nehru was 'more than aware of the fascist character of extreme communalism, including its Akali variety under Master Tara Singh's leadership'. At the same time Nehru was sensitive to the feelings of the minorities, tried to conciliate the Akalis by accommodating, as far as possible, their secular demands. The examples of this accommodation are the pacts of 1948 and 1956 when the Akali Dal agreed to shed its communal character. But this strategy failed to stem the growth of communalism in the Punjab. Nehru gave full support to Partap Singh Kairon who was dealing firmly with both Hindu and Sikh communalism. But neither Nehru nor Kairon took steps to launch an ideological campaign against communalism, nor did they confront communalism frontally at a time when it was not difficult to do so.³¹ It is not clear how the minorities can be clubbed with the majority for a 'fascist character'. The pact of 1948 was meant to absorb the Akali Legislators in the Congress party. It isolated Master Tara Singh from the former Akali leaders. The pact of 1956 was the Regional Formula which was never completely implemented by the Congress Government. In any case, 'communalism' in the Punjab was not confined to the Sikhs.

Master Tara Singh gave the demand for the Punjabi Suba 'a blatantly communal character'. It was argued, it is contended, that the Sikhs needed a state of their own in which they could dominate as a religious and political community because of their larger numbers. But the 'Suba' demanded would not have made the Sikhs a majority. Nehru is believed to have refused to concede the demand because of its communal underpinnings. When Sant Fateh Singh ousted Master Tara Singh from the top leadership of the Akali Dal, and declared that the demand for Punjabi Suba was entirely language based, the ground was prepared for its acceptance. But the difference between Master

30. Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee, and Aditya Mukherjee, *India After Independence 1947-2000*, New Delhi: Penguin Books (India), 2003 (5th impression), pp. 324-5.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-6.

Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh on this issue was more verbal than real. The Punjabi Suba was created in 1966, and our authors believe that it was a correct step. Yet it was no solution of the Punjab problem. 'The heart of that problem was communalism and unless that was eradicated the problem would remain, though it might take ever newer forms.'³² The authors go on to discuss 'Akali politics and militancy' after the creation of the Punjabi Suba and after the death of Master Tara Singh, on the wrong assumption that militancy was an extension of Akali politics.

Raghuvendra Tanwar has discussed the problem of ethnic identity and statehood with a specific reference to Master Tara Singh. On the question of ethnicity, Tanwar declares that he does not subscribe to the view of Paul Brass that 'the Sikhs had developed from a distinctive religious and ethnic group to the level of a conscious nationality'. Nevertheless, by 1947, they had moved speedily to becoming 'a more distinct, self conscious community' drawing its bonding elements from symbols of heritage, shared history, culture and religion. There was discernible urge to protect exclusive interests and the specific identity of which the Sikhs were increasingly becoming conscious. This made them an 'ethnic group' but not a 'nationality'.³³

Master Tara Singh was not 'a staunch supporter of the Gandhian movements in the Punjab'. His differences with the Congress over the Nehru Report were resolved when the Congress gave assurance to the Sikhs in 1929 'that in future no constitutional solution that did not give satisfaction to the Sikhs would be acceptable to the Congress'. Master Tara Singh welcomed this assurance, declaring that the Sikhs would stand in front in the fight for freedom.³⁴

During the War, Master Tara Singh wanted the Sikhs to join the British Indian army for the sake of the Panth as the Sikhs in the army would be 'a great support' and when the struggle came, 'the militancy officers would be of moral support as had happened in the Gurdwara Reform Movement'. Tanwar refers to Master Tara Singh's 'nationalist role' in the 1930s even though his rivals talked in 'communal terms'. About the Azad Punjab scheme, Master Tara Singh made no secret of his purpose: to cripple the Pakistan scheme. His scheme was meant to ensure integrity of the Indian state.³⁵

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-8.

33. Raghuvendra Tanwar, *The Paradox of Ethnic Identity and Statehood: Reassessing the Role of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Master Tara Singh*, Kannur: Indian History Congress, 2008. ('Presidential Address', *Contemporary History of India*), p. 5.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

Tanwar outlines the events which indicate how the Sikhs saw their future in India, and why Master Tara Singh insisted on the partition of the Punjab. After the partition, changes occurred in the thinking of Master Tara Singh. He was not happy with the 3 June Award. Early in June he said: 'It is not a matter of mere political power for us. Our very existence is at stake'. A fortnight later he said that the Sikhs were facing extinction because 'they have been thrown bound at the mercy of others'. The plan for the partition of the Punjab was understood by Master Tara Singh and the Congress leaders 'to mean completely different things'. The Sikh perception that they had actually made a sacrifice by siding with India seemed to be of no concern to the Congress leadership. After the partition, changes occurred in the thinking of Master Tara Singh. By the end of 1947, he was clearly an undesirable element as far as Nehru and Gandhi were concerned.³⁶

The Akali leaders were disappointed with the indifference of the Congress leaders to the promises given before 1947. Nehru declared at Jalandhar on 24 February 1948 that 'in this country weightage is not to be given to anybody'. He was frank enough to tell the people that 'to demand weightage is non-sense'. Master Tara Singh reacted: 'I want the right of self determination for the Panth in matters religious, social, political and others. If to ask for the existence of the Panth is communalism, then I am a communalist and I am prepared to face repression'. Repeatedly he spoke of a space for preserving 'our culture and traditions'. What the Sikhs sought was a 'province within the federation of India'.³⁷

Master Tara Singh was arrested for the first time in free India on 19 February 1949. It was the most painful duty for Sardar Patel. To Tanwar, Master Tara Singh's arrest appears to have been unwarranted. Master Tara Singh was to be in and out of jail in the years that followed, and the problem of the Congress in the Punjab was that it had no one to rival Master Tara Singh in popularity. Tanwar outlines the developments leading to the inauguration of the Punjabi-speaking state on 1 November 1966. But no sooner than it was done, the Akalis led by Sant Fateh Singh condemned the common links like Chandigarh and the Bhakra works. Several new dimensions came to be added to the politics of the Punjab.³⁸

By way of conclusion, Tanwar observes that the Sikhs as a minority with a well knit identity did not fall in line with a homogeneous national identity

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-40.

which they found was not sufficiently reassuring. He makes the general point that pride in one's culture, ethnic belonging and the urge for more share in the political system of the region and the nation are natural processes that need to be appreciated in multi-ethnic states like India. The 'setting of "pan-Indian" goals was and would be even today completely out of the pace with liberal, democratic, secular and federal ethos, which are important concerns of Indian polity.'³⁹ Bipan Chandra and Raghuvendra Tanwar appear to belong to two different worlds.

Writing directly on Master Tara Singh, Durlab Singh and Raghuvendra Tanwar are far more empathetic towards him than Baldev Raj Nayar and Bipan Chandra and his co-authors. Durlab Singh knew Master Tara Singh personally, and he could see that Master Tara Singh had emerged as the most important Sikh leader in the 1930s. There was much in his life that could be appreciated by Durlab Singh, including his genuine faith and commitment to both the community and the country. Tanwar has an inkling that there could be honest differences of outlook and political attitudes among the leaders with different historical and cultural heritage. For him, the construct of 'communalism' does not clarify issues. 'Unity' is not to be confused with 'uniformity'. Tanwar presents Master Tara Singh as a patriot who was seriously concerned with the interests of his community within the constitutional framework of the country.

Baldev Raj Nayar, as we have pointed out, was interested in the process of nation-building in a secular State. The evidence before him was complex if not of a contradictory kind, but he was inclined on the whole to see Master Tara Singh as a protagonist of communalism and, therefore, an obstacle to nation-building in a secular State. Bipan Chandra and his co-authors take this view to its logical extreme and see the Akali movement and Master Tara Singh as essentially communal.

It is necessary to add that Master Tara Singh wrote much on politics, religion, and ethics for more than half a century. He wrote about himself, and he wrote historical novels dealing with the Sikh past. He tried to educate the Sikh Panth on the basis of his own understanding of Sikh history and the Sikh faith. Perhaps largely because his writings are in Punjabi and in Gurmukhi script, none of the writers we have considered has used the works of Master Tara Singh for their studies. Thus, a very substantial and perhaps the most crucial part of evidence available on him has been ignored. For a proper appreciation of Master Tara Singh's position in history it is imperative to take his own works into account.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-1.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PARAMOUNTCY AND PUNJAB STATES (1858-1947)

*Buta Singh Sekhon**

As a political concept, Paramountcy that existed before the independence of India was a significant institution *sui-generis* (Peculiar of its own type). This vague and flexible political concept enabled the British Government to regulate its relation with nearly 600 odd vastly disparate administrative units or States spread over the whole of India. The Indian States covered an area of 38.8% of the total country's land and it constituted 1/3 of the total population of country. The East India Company which came to India as a merchant company ultimately gave place to the British Crown, which ruled the country from 1858 to 15th August, 1947. The Queen's proclamation of 1858 was a turning point in the British policy towards the Indian States. This proclamation declared "no extension of present territorial possession..." In its operation the ingenuity of British Statesmanship and diplomacy adjusted Paramountcy of what the Butler Committee described as "shifting necessities of the time." The period of administration under Lord Dalhousie was a period of great and special significance because during this period Paramountcy had reached its peak and gathered fullest strength. The paramount power brought the Indian States under its hold and authority. Hence, it established a link between British India and the States of India. Paramountcy welded India into an integrated nation. The historic Queen's Proclamation of 1 November 1858 declared in clear and unambiguous terms that the British Government would no longer follow the policy of extension of British possession in India. In pursuance of this declared assurance, Adoption Sanads were granted to numerous Native Chiefs, including the Punjab Chiefs. It was, indeed, a peremptory and irrevocable decision of the British Government under the crown to perpetuate the Native States as an integral part of India's political system.

The Native Chiefs were also assured that the treaties and engagements concluded with them by the East India Company would be scrupulously maintained and that their rights, dignity and honour would be respected. To:

* DIET, Budhlada (Mansa).

the Sikh Chiefs of the Punjab, and more especially to the Phulkian Chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha, some additional concessions were granted in recognition of their meritorious services to the British Government during the great revolt of 1857-58.

As a matter of fact, the British authorities arrogated to themselves arbitrarily in the name of 'Paramountcy' whatever rights and powers they desired, and whatever remained with the Native Chiefs was considered to have been left as a matter of grace. Once, Lord Curzon remarked in 1903: "They laid down the limitations of its own prerogatives".¹ It was, ostensibly, a claim not to paramountcy but to complete sovereignty—an assertion that the prerogative of the Crown reached out to any length it chose, entitling it as of right to impose on every State what control it thought fit, although in its forbearance it had graciously chosen to submit to certain self-imposed limitations.² Thus, unlimited sovereign authority was claimed by the Paramount Power and its extent was deliberately left undefined. These claims of the Paramount Power were asserted generally in spite of, and very often in clear violation of the existing treaties, engagements and sanads which were declaredly to be 'scrupulously maintained'. It was by agreements tactfully negotiated, by precedents of one State adroitly extended to the others, and by circular and orders unilaterally issued by the Supreme Government that the additional obligations were exacted from the Native Chiefs.³

The most striking fact emerging from the study in hand is that the British authorities deliberately, and very prudently, treated the Phulkian States of Patiala, Jind and Nabha with greater consideration as compared to other States in the Punjab. In the course of the revolt of 1857-58, the Chiefs of these three States had rendered conspicuous services to the British Government. In recognition of these services they were granted additional territories and titles. In 1859, they were given, in response to their joint 'Paper of Requests', some extraordinary concessions which were not given to any other Chief in the Punjab. On 5 May 1860, each of them was granted Sanad of an exceptional nature, which conceded the privilege of adoption and some other significant rights. All this placed their relations with the British Government on a somewhat peculiar footing. It was a general principle of the British Policy

1. *Foreign Department* (hereafter cited as *FD*), Secret I, August 1904, No.26.

2. *British Crown and the Indian States* (hereafter cited as *BCIS*), pp. 66-67.

3. According to Lee Warner, "The obligations of each State can not be fully grasped without a study of whole corpus or mass of the treaties, engagements and sanads." See *Protected Princes of India*, p.39.

that if a Chief died without any natural heir and without having adopted one, the British Government, in that eventuality, could select from among various candidates any person as successor and imposes conditions upon the person so selected as necessitated by the circumstances. The three Phulkian States were an exception to this principle, for it was provided in their case by the Sanads of 1860 that if such an eventuality arose, the successor would be selected from the Phulkian family by the two surviving Phulkian Chiefs in consultation with the Commissioner. Both Raja Bhagwan Singh and Raja Hira Singh of Nabha were selected as Chiefs of the State in 1864 and 1871 respectively in accordance with this procedure. An exceptional treatment was also accorded to the Phulkian States in the matter of arrangements during the minority of the Chiefs. The British Government generally preferred to appoint a European Superintendent to manage the affairs of a State during the minority of its Chief.

The ingenious scheme of the grant of titles and honours, as also of determining the salute-guns and order of precedence of the Chiefs, evolved by the British Statesmen, was another weapon tactfully applied by them to retain the loyalty, and win over the gratitude of the three principle Sikh States. Of the Punjab Chiefs, the highest and the maximum number of titles and honours were bagged by the Phulkian Chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha. Though Bahawalpur was by far the largest States in Punjab from the point of area,⁴ Patiala was given precedence over it; and this premier Phulkian State ranked first in the precedence list of Native States in the Punjab. Similarly the States of Jind and Nabha, though each of them had smaller population and revenues than the Kapurthala State, were given precedence over the latter. Although Jind was given precedence over Nabha, yet the British Government regarded both with equal favour and recognized no distinction between them in point of rank or dignity. From the foregoing account, it will have been obvious that the Phulkian States were given preferential treatment as compared to other States in the Punjab.

The wise and cumbersome procedure evolved for making the policy was also worthy of consideration. The policy matters were not hastily decided upon, nor recklessly enforced. On the other hand, each matter was carefully conceived and remorselessly examined at various levels in the process of the making of the policy. There was, with certain exceptions, a four-tier system

4. The area of the Bahawalpur State was 15,918 square miles, whereas that of Patiala was only 5,412 square miles.

evolved for the purpose in the case of Punjab States; and the concerned authorities were the Commissioner, the Punjab Government, the Government of India and the Home Government. The actual role played by each of these authorities in the formulation and execution of the policy matters has been discussed elsewhere.⁵ Thus, this procedure greatly mitigated the possibility of errors of omission and commission, and eminently helped in carrying out the policy in accordance with Imperial considerations and interests.

What were, then, the main considerations and interests which determined the British Policy? The primary concern of the British Government since 1858 was to make the British Empire safe and secure. For this purpose. it was considered essential to maintain the Native States. After the great crisis of 1857-58, it was felt by the British authorities that it could not be possible for them to pursue any longer the policy of annexation of Native States; for they possessed neither a sufficient European force, nor the requisite financial means, nor an adequate staff of English officers for the purpose. Under the circumstances they made the irrevocable decision that the existing States and dynasties should be preserved. Sir John Malcolm had said long back that if the British conquered the whole of India it was not in the nature of things that the British Empire should last fifty years, but that if they could keep a number of Native States without political power as loyal instruments the British Empire in India could exist as long as British naval superiority in Europe was maintained.⁶ Canning fully believed in the substantial truth of this opinion.⁷ So it was resolved to preserve the Native States and use them as strong pillars for the British Empire in India.

But the cautious British Statesmen did not think it advisable to place full reliance upon the Native States. While conciliating and winning over the friendship of the Native Chiefs, they decided at the same time to weaken their authority.⁸ They were apparently not oblivious of the possibility of a combination of Native Royalties against the Paramount Power, thereby posing a serious threat to the security of the British Empire. It was, therefore, decided as a matter of principle to keep up the isolation of the Native States from one another. The Native Chiefs were not permitted, as a rule, to interface with the

5. *BCIS*, pp.66-67.

6. *Canning's Dispatch to SOS* (Secretary of State for India), No. 43-A, 30 April, 1860. para 35.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Majumdar, R.C. (ed.), *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Bombay, 1963. p.960.

affairs of one another, nor to have any intimate connection with each other. They were not even allowed to address joint representations to the Supreme Government, nor could they advance loans to one another without the sanction of the Government of India. It has already been noted how the British Government prevented the Maharaja of Patiala from intervening in the affairs of Dholpur and giving a loan of ten lakhs of rupees to that State, even though the Chiefs of the two States were close relatives.

The same consideration, namely, security of the British Empire, prompted the British authorities to keep a close watch over military establishments in the Native States. It was an important principle of the British policy that the Native Chiefs should not be permitted to keep more forces than were considered essential for the maintenance of internal peace in their respective States, for the upkeep of their dignity as Rulers and for fulfilment of their military obligations to the Paramount Power. Regular reports were sent to the Government of India by the local authorities regarding the strength of infantry, cavalry and artillery in various States under their respective charge. The Native Chiefs were also not permitted, as a rule, to manufacture arms, the ammunition and were required to import the same from no other source excepting the Imperial Government. The British authorities considered their requisition for arms on the merits of each case and could accept or reject their demands. Sometimes even reasonable demands of the Sikh Chiefs for the supply of arms were declined, despite the fact that they had been so very loyal to the Paramount Power and did not possess military establishments of such magnitude as could provide a cause for alarm or apprehension to the British Government.

The Native States were not only prevented from taking measures which might threaten the security or embarrass military defense of the Empire, but were also required to make positive contribution towards the defense and security of the Empire. During the Second Afghan War, the Punjab Chiefs' contingents contributed by the States of Patiala, Bahawalpur, Jind, Nabha, Kapurthala, Faridkot and Sirmur, rendered meritorious services and performed 'arduous and harassing' duties in connection with the defense of the frontier to the satisfaction of the British authorities. In 1888, the Government of Dufferin decided to organize selected troops of the Native States for the defense of the Empire. The scheme of 'Imperial Services Troops' was initially launched from the Punjab States of Patiala, Bahawalpur, Jind, Nabha, Kapurthala and Faridkot, keeping in view the military traditions of the Sikh Chiefships, the excellent soldierly material that could be available in these States, the proximity

of the Punjab States to the North-West Frontier, and the voluntary and genuine offers for military services in defense of the Empire. These troops were employed in the Tirah campaign on the North-West Frontier and they conducted themselves to the entire satisfaction of the British authorities under whom they had been placed. Despite the commendable performance of the Imperial Service Troops on the frontier and elsewhere, the British authorities thought it prudent to keep the scheme confined to twenty-three States, for they apprehended that the increasing strength of these selected States' troops beyond a certain limit might become a source of danger for the Empire itself.

Another potent consideration which weighed with the British authorities was to procure the subordinate co-operation of the Native States for meeting the fiscal and economic requirements of the Empire. After the revolt of 1857-58, the British Government was faced with an economic crisis of great magnitude, and in the following four and a half decades they had to take numerous and manifold measures for improving their revenues, as also for the economic development of the country as a whole. In the matter of coinage, salt, opium, railway, post and telegraph they had to make certain arrangements with the Native States. There is no doubt that most of these arrangements were affected in violation of the existing treaties and engagements with the Native States. They also caused substantial financial losses to the States and resulted in greatly lowering the sovereign status of the Native Chiefs. But it may be argued in defense of British policy that these measures were generally taken for the economic development and unity of country as a whole. It should not be forgotten that the territories of the Native States were so inextricably intermixed with the territories of the British India that intercommunication between various parts of British India could not be possible without traversing the territories of the States, and as such the Native States had inevitably to be associated with Imperial Schemes of railway, post and telegraph, if these schemes were to be of any worth.⁹ These appliances also helped the cause of defense of the British Empire as well as of Native States and subsequently facilitated the task of national integration. It may also be added that these measures saved efforts of decades for the independent Government of India who in the absence of these measures would have been confronted with some problems of great magnitude. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in all these measures the British Government had been actuated by imperial considerations and that they had made the Native Chiefs' right and sentiments subservient to the imperial requirements.

9. Dufferin to Elliot, 27 October, 1887, *Dufferin Papers*, Reel 256, No. 354.

Apart from imperial considerations, the benevolent consideration for welfare and happiness of the people of Native States may also be viewed as an important determining factor of the policy. It was an age when the ideas and movements of reforms and socio-economic advancement of the masses were not only being freely advocated but were also in the process of being translated into practice in various countries of the West, as also in some advanced Asiatic countries like Japan in the Far East. In British India, too, serious measures of reforms and moral and material development of the people had started during the period of Lord Dalhousie. But it was in the course of first half a century of the Crown's regime, when the British Government had been relieved of the task of conquering and annexing Native States any further, that such measures were taken earnestly and extensively. Under the influence of the emerging tendencies in and out of India, the British Government could not have allowed the Native States to remain entirely as isolated units ruled in a medieval fashion by irresponsible autocratic Chiefs caring more for their personal pleasure than for the public good. It was, therefore, led to intervene resolutely and repeatedly in the internal affair of the Native States to check misgovernment and miscarriage of justice and to persuade the Chiefs to exert for improving their administration.¹⁰ Such an intervention was exercised irrespective of existing treaty stipulations, but it aimed at general good of people of the States. For instance, if the British authorities assumed the administration of certain States during the minority of their Chiefs, or prevented some Chiefs from carrying out death sentence without the consent of the Commissioner or Political Officer concerned, or prohibited them from frequently absenting themselves from their States, or instituted the practice of preparing and publishing Annual Reports on the Administration of the States, or authorized the Political Officer to give their advice and guidance to the Chiefs on important matters of administration, or sanctioned the appointment of some British officer or pensioners in any branch of administration of certain States, or intervened to settle disputes between the Chiefs and their feudatories or collaterals, their object very often was no other than welfare and happiness of the subjects of the States; in some

10. It was observed by Aitchison: "So long as Native States are reasonably well-governed, so long as finances are not recklessly squandered, so long as the lives and property of their subjects receive fair protection, and so long as the British supremacy and the Policy necessitate by the general interests of the Empire are duly respected, the ruling Chiefs are not interfered with; and if unfortunately, intervention should prove to be necessary, advice and help are freely given before sterner measures are reported to. But the 'right divine to govern wrong' can under no circumstances be recognized." cited in K.W., Pol. A, April 1880, Nos.212-217, p.13.

of these matters, of course, they were actuated by the additional, and silently predominant, Imperial motive. The British intervention in all such matters was evidently distasteful of the Chiefs concerned, and evoked criticism at the hands of the apologists of the Chiefs and their rights.¹¹ but to an observer of liberal and progressive propensity such an intervention was not only unjustified but it was also desirable and necessary.¹² Be that as it may, the shrewd British Statesmen on the one hand, tried their best to bring about improvement in the administration of Native States, and on the other hand, they deliberately abstained from exercising so authoritative and vexatious an intervention in the affairs of the principle States as might convert the loyal feelings of their Rulers into refractory and rebellious spirits. But at the same time, they would not tolerate any inhuman or grossly atrocious deed on the part of any Chief, and would not hesitate even to depose a Chief on such a ground, as for instance, was done in case of the Chiefs of Tonk,¹³ Alirajpur,¹⁴ Baroda,¹⁵ Suket,¹⁶ Porbandar,¹⁷ Jhalawar¹⁸ and Bharatpur¹⁹ on such a ground during the period under study.

The above-mentioned considerations were the predominant factors which exercised influence on the evolution of the various facets of the Policy understanding review. It was during Canning's viceroyalty that the foundations of the policy were laid, which, in times of his successors, continued to assume broader propitiations in response to changing circumstances and growing requirements of the Paramount Power. The process reached its culmination during Curzon's period, and the result in words of Curzon himself was:

The Native Chiefs are not sovereigns. They have been deprived of the Essential rights and attributes of Sovereignty. They cannot make treaties, they cannot keep armies or import arms, they cannot have any relations with each other beyond those of friendship, they cannot even build railways without the consent of Government of India. In the event of aggravated Oppression or misrule they are liable to deposition.²⁰

11. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 31 December, 1874.

12. *The Tribune*, See editorial, 26 April, 1902.

13. *Foreign Department* (hereafter *FD*), *Political A*, November, 1867, Nos. 19-21.

14. *FD, Political A*, April, 1869, Nos. 49-55.

15. *FD, Political A*, July, 1875, Nos. 219-226 and *FD, Pol. A*, August, 1875, Nos. 168-170.

16. *FD, Political B*, May, 1878, Nos. 160-163.

17. *FD, Internal A*, November, 1888, Nos. 132-135.

18. *FD, Secret I*, March, 1896, Nos. 701-773.

19. *FD, Internal A*, August, 1900, Nos. 284-297.

20. Curzon to King Edward VII, 19 June, 1901, *Curzon Papers*, Reel I, No. 11.

After Curzon's departure, a growing reaction to the British policy measures became more and more perceptible among the Native Chiefs who began to resent their power, dignity and status being increasingly curtailed or openly denied. Synchronizing with the growing feelings of dissatisfaction among the Native Royalities was the rise of militant national movement in various parts of the country. All this necessitated a thorough reconsideration of the policy adopted heretofore in respect of the Native States. The year 1905, when Curzon left India, may, therefore, appropriately be regarded as marking the close of the epoch which had begun with the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown in 1858.

Of the general success of the policy from the British viewpoint little doubt can be entertained. Notwithstanding the clear violation of the existing treaties engagements and sanads, the lowering of sovereign status and dignity of the Chiefs and substantial financial losses of the States all that the policy measures did involve—the Native Chiefs were won over as 'partners and pillars' of the British Empire of India. The shrewd British Statesmen eminently succeeded in fostering the idea among the Native Royalities that disintegration of the British Empire would be no gain to them, and that their States and dynasties would be fully secure so long as the British Empire remained intact. At the same time, the military strength of the States was cautiously curtailed and controlled, and they were determinedly kept isolated from one another as far as could be feasible. Thus the Chiefs were rendered both unwilling and incapable to pose any serious organized challenge to the British Paramountcy in India. On the other hand, their services were positively utilized for the security and strengthening of the Empire. This was a conspicuous fact, flagrantly galling to the Indian nationalists of course, that the Native Chiefs and Princes often vied with one another in demonstrating their loyalty and devotion to the British Government and offering whatever they could for the defense and security of the Empire. During the revolt of 1857-58 they had already acted, in the expressive language of Canning, as "breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave", and hereafter also they rendered valuable services to the Empire whenever it chanced to be threatened by foreign aggression from without or internal trouble from within. At the time of any emergency—be it Afghan war or tribal rising on the North-Western frontier; Russian danger across the border, or war, out of India, in Egypt or Sudan, China or Tibet—genuine and voluntary offers of service poured in from a large number of Native Chiefs notably the Punjab Chiefs. And the services of the States' troops were actually utilized more than once not only

for the defense of the Indian Empire but also for pushing forward the imperialistic designs of the British in the far-off lands of Asia and Africa.

Still more significant were the services rendered by the Chiefs to meet internal dangers to the Empire. In the sixties and early part of the seventies of the last century when the Kukas (a well-organized sect of the Sikhs), who were among the most prominent pioneers of freedom fighters in the Punjab, created serious troubles, the Sikh Chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha helped the British authorities in suppressing their movement.²¹ In 1891, when there were serious disturbances in the hill States of Manipur (near Assam) involving the murder of some high British officials, offers of States' troops for assistance came from the Chiefs of Patiala, Nabha and Kapuathala, though they were not utilized.²² Subsequently, the willing and valuable co-operation of the Native Chiefs was made use of in full by the British authorities against the growing national movement which posed the most serious threat to the existence of British Empire. It was, doubtless, an attainment or real Statesmanship of the alien bureaucracy that they succeeded in generating such loyal feeling among the Native Royalties as prompted the spontaneous offer of support of the Sikh Chiefs against the anti-British Sikh movement, of certain Native States against a Native State itself gone rebel, and of Native aristocracy against the emerging forces of Indian nationalism and democracy. It helps answer in some measure the question as to why the British Empire, despite the great and obvious limitations of the foreign rulers, could last for so long as until 1947.

21. Bajwa, Fauja Singh, *Kuka Movement*, Delhi, 1965, pp.123-24.

22. *FD, Internal A*, June, 1891, Nos. 159-173.

INDIAN LIBERALS AND THEIR ROLE IN POLITICS (1919-1937)

S. D. Gajrani *

Several influential, but intellectual persons constituted the Liberal Party during the period under review. They held many conferences under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation of India. These conferences were presided over by very prominent persons, who were known for their outstanding abilities. Among them, the beginning was made with Surendra Nath Banerjee in the year 1918. Some of the best and most experienced brains called themselves liberals and they were willing to participate in the Liberal councils. What, then, were the reasons of their ineffectual roles and the apathy towards the Liberal Party?

The Liberals generally blamed the government for their unfortunate position. Firstly, there was some reality in such accusation. The Party was constituted in the year 1918 as a 'break away' from the Congress when the Congress rejected the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1918. Its initial viewpoint was that though the Reforms of 1918-19 did not offer as much as they should have, they contained the promise of enough real advance to warrant patriotic Indians' sincere attempts to work them. The Liberals thought that they would be able to modify the working of that part of the system over which under the constitution they had no control. Secondly they also expected that by some outstanding administrative achievements they would be able to establish themselves in the eyes of the countrymen. They would also be able to prove that the rash methods and undue haste of the Indian National Congress were unnecessary. Accordingly the Indian Liberals took office and at first exercised some influence on the course of the government. Of course, they got valuable support from Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India. In fact, he was a pillar of strength to them, all the time that he was in power.

It appears that Montagu had really an ardent desire to lead India towards full self-government. "You must govern India,"¹ he wrote to Chelmsford, "as a

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1. Sapru to G.S. Bajpai, 24 May, 1934, *Sapru Papers*; also Sapru to Irwin, 31st May 1930, *Halifax Collection*, p.447; Also see Setalvad to Irwin, 2nd August, 1930, p.639, and of 4th August, 1937, p.645, *Sapru Papers*, Sapru House Library, New Delhi.

country on its way to self-government and not as a dependency unless all the work which we are doing is merely to be a sham."² But in this desire Montagu was alone. He was the member of a coalition government in England. It, as he himself described, consisted of the whole of the Conservative Party, a few Liberal members disowned by their organization and a few Labour members repudiated by the Party that they presented.³ However, to the Conservatives Montagu had already been a figure of dubious motives whose highest crime was the 'reckless surrender of India to the revolutionaries'. It was, indeed disheartening to him to find a lack of interest and enthusiasm in the affairs of India.⁴ Montagu was really a 'tragic figure' from 1917, groping his way almost alone by the flickering light of liberalism on the wane.

Montagu had a fight against heavy opposition at home in piloting the Government of India Bill through its final stages. The Liberals rightly thought that Montagu was a genuine friend and he meant well by India. At the very outset, they, therefore, put their trust in him. They also felt that with Montagu's firm patronage from London and with their own presence in various ministries in India, they would exercise a constitutional presence which would hasten the process of constitutional evolution. This faith was abundantly justified. Montagu recognized the great help that the Moderates in India had rendered him by supporting the reforms of 1919, and he advised Chelmsford always to encourage the Moderates, to put fresh life into them so that they might be strengthened to attract the waverers from the extremist camp who must not be left sitting on the fence.⁵ Montagu also advised Lord Reading to take the Moderates into greater confidence of the government and to lend a more sympathetic ear to their appeal.⁶

The news of Montagu's resignation in March 1922, therefore, came as a serious blow to the Indian Liberals. Thenceforth, they could no longer hope for any support from the British official circles. Their impact in Indian affairs started steadily to dwindle. It was true that the Labour Party, which had committed itself against imperialism and had repeatedly promised to grant India her right of determination, came to power in Great Britain with

2. Montagu to Chelmsford, 8 August 1919, *Chelmsford Papers*, Vol.IV, p.90, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

3. Montagu to Chelmsford, 8th November, 1918, *Montagu Papers*, Vol.II, p. 241, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

4. Montagu to Chelmsford, 2 October, 1920, *Montagu Papers*, Vol.II, p.260.

5. *Ibid.*, 7 October 1920, *Chelmsford Papers*, Vol.VI, p.84.

6. Montagu to Reading, 18th March 1922, *Montagu Papers*, Vol.XIII, pp.503-09.

Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald as the Prime Minister in 1924 and again in 1919. The Liberals' opinion expected that the Labour Party would do big things for India. However, the attitude of the Labour Party, at that time made them realize that, after all, where the question of Indian self-government was considered, there was very little to choose between one British party and another.

It is worth mentioning that without the moral support of White hall since Montagu's fall from power (Wedgwood Ben's term of office may be ignored) the Liberals in India began to find themselves in a difficult position. They were now confronted with a Secretary of State who presented neither Montagu's vision nor sympathy. For remaining period the Liberals had to face a Pussilaninous Government, afraid of the rashness of its own promises and 'bent on nothing so much as on taking back in practice what it had already conceded in theory'.⁷ Under such circumstances 'the cooperation of the Liberals, depending as it did on the political life of one man, was a political mistake of first magnitude'.⁸

Up to the time of Simon Commission, the Liberals in India were passing through a very poor situation; many of them were passing time occasionally taking part in various conferences with the motive of expediting the progress of the constitutional development of India or devoting their energies to such matters as ameliorating the conditions of Indian overseas. When the government of India declared the setting up of a purely parliamentary commission in the autumn of 1927, the Liberals joined the Indian National Congress in declaring a boycott. The Liberals could get a fresh lease of life with Irwin's announcement on the Round Table Conference on Dominion Status in October 1929.⁹ They understood at the same time very well the need of securing the co-operation of the Congress, for the acceptance of the announcement by them would have little practical worth in India if the Congress Party was not reconciled to it. In the autumn of 1929, the Liberals re-emerged in Indian politics in the role of mediators between the government and the Congress. However, all their efforts at securing the co-operation of the Congress were rendered futile by the reactionary debate in British Parliament,¹⁰ and the subsequent rough handling of the situation by the government of India.¹¹

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *India in 1929-30*, see Appendix II, pp.466-68.

10. *Parliamentary Debates Lords 1929-30*, Vol.75, pp.375-79.

11. S. Gopal, *Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin*, p.169; also see Setalvad to Irwin, 2nd August 1930, and also of the 4th August 1930, *Halifax Collection*, pp. 639c, 645.

The Liberals finally left for London amidst maledictions of the Congress sympathizers. But they knew from the very beginning that no constitution could be worked in India with active hostility of the Congress because it was the most effective and well organized Party in India at that time.¹² Being in close touch with the Congress circles, the Liberals were sure that there was growing body of opinion among them which, while dissatisfied with the constitution and unprepared to bless the proposal of the Round Table Conference, would like to capture the machinery so as to prevent reactionary elements from doing so and for that vision they would enter the Legislature. Sapru thought that they should be better inside the constitutional framework and face responsibility then remaining outside. The sad experience of the Swarajists' non-cooperation from within the Council during 1924-26 was not forgotten by them. They were sure that once the Congressmen went in, they would work upon the Constitution agreed upon.¹³

Thus while the Conference was in session and more especially during its later stages the Liberals' policies had been directed at the one end to try to influence the deliberations of the Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee in their favour as well as on the other side to impress upon the Viceroy of India the need of the repeal of repressive ordinances. It was also to impress upon him to release the political prisoners. If these demands were met, it would facilitate the Congress participation in the Conference. It would also secure their acceptance of the constitution which would emerge out of its deliberations.¹⁴

However, all their efforts proved meaningless. For it appears that the policy of both the Secretary of State, who was hard pressed by the Tories at home, and the Viceroy, similarly pressed by reactionary officials of the government of India, had been characterized by a contemptuous disregard of the wishes and opinions of the Liberals.¹⁵ They displayed a tendency to lean more and more upon their two reactionary props—the princes and the various

12. Sapru to K. N. Haksar, 23 February, 1933, *Sapru Papers*.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, Viscount Templewood, *Nine Troubled Years*, London, 1954, pp. 45-46, 48, 55; also Hoare to Willingdon, 23 October, 1931, *Templewood Collection*, Vol. I, pp. 49-50 (there are several references in *Templewood Collection*); also see Indian Round Table Conference Proceedings, third session, Pearl Papers, Commons, 1932-33, Vol. II, pp. 14-48.

15. Government of India Home political secret No. 33/4/31; also 33/24/31; also 14/12/31; and 13/12/31; also see Willingdon to Hoare, 10 January 1932, *Templewood Collection*, Vol. IV, pp. 60-62.

minority factions, especially the Muslims. The latter appeared to fall in line with their opinion.¹⁶ The Liberals were distressed to say that the die-hard politicians in Great Britain and bureaucrats in India had reverted to the time honoured policy of 'no truck with the Congress' from which the Gandhi-Irwin Pact had been a temporary deviation.

It must be admitted that the Liberals had time and again been treated in this manner by the government particularly since they went out of office in 1923. Sapru rightly made a complaint: "We Liberals are being blamed both by the people and the government. My feeling is that government recognizes us as a Party only when we are on any question in agreement with them, otherwise we are dismissed as a Party with no influence and no backing."¹⁷ Indeed, whenever the government of India found itself in trouble, it turned to the Liberals for help. The Liberals also lost no time in responding to such a situation. Being assured of government's sincerity they began negotiations galore and devised legion formulas. While their advice was being considered, they would be hopeful that their method would prove most effective in helping to free India from the foreign domination. However, reaction would not be long in coming. The Liberals would soon be asked to retire from the scene. They lamented that notwithstanding their tried policy of co-operation with and confidence in government, the Liberals should be treated in this manner. "We feel like cardinal", Wolsley said, the most imminent among them.

For another reason also the moderates had blamed the British. If the British had conceded reforms in time, the Congress policy would not have taken such a radical turn. Indeed, nothing was more fatal to the moderates' position than an Indian policy of vacillation. From 1916 onwards the old moderates had been steadily losing their influence in the Congress. As Lord Sinha, who had presided over the session of the Indian National Congress in 1915 had predicted: "Government's long delay in making its intention clear had undermined the position and authority of the moderates." Both in 1919 and in 1935 the reforms had come after long delay, which discredited the Liberals in popular esteem. The Liberals' position was bound to be somewhat shaky and embarrassing whenever the concessions they asked for were refused or postponed. They deplored that the government should be playing into the extremists' hands by repeatedly declining to listen to their voice. It was a vicious circle in which the Liberals gradually found themselves involved. For a while

16. Willingdon to Hoare, 26 March 1923, *Templewood Collection*, Vol. IV, p. 256.

17. Sapru to Irwin, 31st May 1930, *Halifax Collection*, Letters and Telegrams from persons in India, January to June, 1930, p. 447.

the attitude of the bureaucracy towards legitimate Indian aspirations stiffened the Congress attitude in India, the utterances and activities of the Congress extremists in turn hardened the heart of government against any material surrender of power. For all these ills the Liberals continued to blame the government for its stiff naked attitude for their obtuse method of 'riding roughshod over the delicate susceptibilities of the Indian people'. They also censored the Congress for having opened Pandora's Box of mass politics, which it could not contain or control.

But why, knowing that their advice would rarely be followed by the government, did the Liberals allow themselves to be treated in this manner? The Liberals took it as a matter of duty towards the country to help avoid clashes and to do what they could to prevent direct conflict between the Congress and the government. They thought that they should put their case properly time and again. They should hammer it into the consciousness both of the people of India and the British government. They took great pains in mastering the facts of the case and presenting it in a very sober, well balanced form before the government and the public.

The Liberals thought it their pious duty to remain true to their pledge to Montagu. It appeared that Montagu had never held any high opinion about Chelmsford and the government of India. Montagu had lamented again and again about their complete lack of any political sense. He found the Indian politicians ready to co-operate with him. A kind of personal friendship developed between him and them. Surendra Nath Banerjee was a great friend of Montagu. However, of all the Indians, Lord Sinha knew Montagu best and next to him came Sastri and Sapru. It seemed that he entered into an understanding with them that they should stand by the reforms and help the government whenever they could. As a result, the Indian Liberals had been loyal to their pledge and hoped that they would be able to influence the course of the government.

Another fact which counts for the fate of Indian Liberalism was that the Liberals were oblivious of the necessity of any proper political organization. It can not be denied that despite their wealth and their far-reaching influence among prominent personalities both in Britain and in India, the Liberals never had a real organization or an effective machine of propaganda in the sense in which the Congress or the Muslim League had.¹⁸ They were blissfully ignorant of all these so much so that any man who did not belong to any other Party

18. R.T. Smith's unpublished dissertation, *Liberals in Indian National Movement*, available in Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (submitted in California, USA, 1964).

could call himself a Liberal. There were only two newspapers in the whole country and one of these, *The Leader* was increasingly becoming more radical in its views.

After Surendra Nath Banerjee's demise, the Party's leadership passed to the United Provinces and Bombay which henceforth became the stronghold of the Liberal Party in India. However there were endless jealousies and countless personal quarrels. Chintamani, Kunzru and Setalvad led one group. This group showed a distinctly Leftist tendency. Soon, Sapru, in disgust, resigned his membership because the Party could not make up its mind about any definite course of action. So all they could present to India and the world was a disunited front. The Liberals had thus made a pathetic exhibition of themselves.

It was inevitable, however, that the influence and effectiveness of the Indian Liberal Party in organized politics should wane as extremist views began to dominate the scene and inert-communal antagonism overshadowed the land. For the appeal of the Indian Liberals was always an appeal 'to moderation, to controlled and orderly progress, to liberty broadening from precedent to precedent which had been the characteristic of British political development and to an equitable settlement of internal communal claims, based primarily on the objective condition of the Indian situation and broad logical principles of equity'.¹⁹ However, the emergence of the Liberals created a separate political climate in the country. Reforms previous to the year 1919 had not made very great impact on India; Montagu had intended his 'reforms to disturb the placid, pathetic contentment of the Indian masses'.²⁰ In this desire he succeeded to a great extent. The characteristic feeling of unsettlement caused by the First World War and followed by such brutal incidents like the Rowlatt Act and Jallianwala Bagh massacre awoke the people from their long slumber and then Gandhi appeared on the political stages. Gandhi's programme and activities created political excitement in the country. Politics was no longer confined to the intellectual classes alone. The Liberals could not identify themselves with the aftermath of this process that they had to deal.

However, despite this radical change in political atmosphere, the Liberals had first hoped that they would be able to influence the course of events. For some time this hope was justified. In the early days of reform though the Indian National Congress at first refused to work, it slowly saw the mistake of leaving the field to the Liberals alone. The rise of the Swarajya

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Leader*, 1933.

Party in 1923 clearly meant, in reality, a relapse into constitutionalism. In the legislative assembly and the provincial councils the Swarajists had in practice played the role of a constitutional opposition. By the mid twenties the Liberals, responsivists, independents, all were for accepting office and working the reform for what they were worth.

There were also some minor organizations and some other individuals with local and sectional influence for instance, Justice Party of Madras, the Indian Christians, some prominent landowners, Zamindars and some Muslims whose views were not completely different from those of the Liberals. However, no attempt could be made to build upon all those Liberal elements- the independents, the responsivists, the Liberals, the Justice Party, landholders, moderate type of Muslims and some others who differed in no material sense from one another; a constructive cohesive party, non-communal, all-embracing and 'stable enough to assume the immense burden of self-government'. The reason was that there was no unity among all these co-operating forces in India, no urge formally to coalesce with the Liberals. The trouble about these people was that, as the government rightly saw the situation, there was always communal feeling or personal jealousy getting in the way of any possible teamwork in order to secure any purpose which they might have in view.²¹ But though no such middle party could be constituted based upon all these elements, the Liberals had fairly succeeded in justifying their initial viewpoint to all those groups in one respect viz. the reforms were to be worked, for stalemate led nowhere.

The Liberals, in fact, became anxious from 1920 onwards when they noticed the quick growth of the youth movement as well as the spread of socialistic and communalistic ideas. The youth movement thought in 'apocalyptic terms of a new world emerging out of cataclysm, and it despised the *bourgeoisie* objects and methods of the Indian National Congress as much as the Congress had spurned the moderation of Indian Liberals'. Once the young men had come to dominate the Congress, there is no room for men of the liberal sedate outlook. The Liberals saw that neither side in their hearts of hearts wanted their formulas for action or their devices for exit. Indeed, when there was one side determined to secure power and the other side determined not to yield any, when the Congress was firm to organize itself as a parallel government and the government of India was hardened against any material surrender. There was no room for any carefully devised phraseology of

21. Willingdon to Hoare, 9 December 1934, *Templewood Collection*, Vol. IV, p. 64.

Liberalism which smacked of Victorian consensus on fundamentals. The Liberals gradually found themselves encircled by an uncongenial atmosphere from which they could desire no encouragement.

However, of their faith was shaken it was a temporary weakening, for in 1931 they again persuaded the Indian National Congress to agree to take part in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and when the Act was finally passed in the year 1935, they found the Congressmen ready to enter the provisional legislature. After that they went to the background.

The Liberals were destined to play a tragic role upon the stage of Indian history. They followed a course of action which, for the circumstances in which they worked, would perhaps have met with greater success. The current of public opinion was against them; instead of swimming with it, as was done by the Congress, they swam against it. Hence the fate of the Liberals in India reminds one the similar fate of the Liberals in England after the fall of Lord George. Placed between conservatives and Liberates, the English Liberals too petered out. as Major Milner, the Labour MP once told Chintamani in 1932, "You are between two stools, and will be crushed as the British Liberals have been".²² Hence the methods followed by the Liberals were outstripped by events which had thrown them into the background.

22. Chintamani to Sivaswami Aiyar, 20 February 1932, *Sivaswami Aiyar Papers*.

THE 'PARTITION' IN LITERARY CONSTRUCTION : EXPERIENCE NARRATIVE AND EMOTIVE EVALUATION

*Navtej Singh**

The phenomenon of 'Partition' in 1947 constituted a major event of human narratives in the 20th century. The historiography on the subject is both vast and immense. It covered the traffic and human elements present in the savagery of massacre of thousands of men, women and children by the communities involved. Rape, torture, change in religion, destruction and loss of properties emerged the prominent pattern or features of this holocaust. Exchange of population on large scale and the problems associated with their re-settlement have also been paid / given sufficient attention by the historians' outputs. Yet the most debatable issue pertains to the causes, nature or character of the event. However, different perspectives are available putting the onus either on British imperialism or the Muslim League and Indian National Congress.

If the debate on this issue remains unending in the historical writings; on the other, the event has also been utilized for narratives in the literary constructions. A variety of genre in Punjabi writings is available, but for the sake of analysis only Punjabi short stories on the theme have been evaluated.

These narratives have been composed both by the contemporary writers and also by the authors of the next generations. An attempt has been made to assess and examine their perspectives and identification of domain of differences in their approach along with a comparison to the overviews of the historians.

Apart from the stories on partition by Kartar Singh Duggal, other writers included are : Sujjan Singh, Gurbux Singh 'Preetlari', Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Mahinder Singh Sarna, Kulwant Singh Virk, Santokh Singh Dhir, Navtej Singh, Amrita Pritam, Giani Hira Singh Dard and Nanak Singh. Also Piara Singh Bhogal, Gurbachan Bhullar, Sulakhan Singh Meet, Gulzar Singh Sadhu, Gurbux Batalvi, Gurdev Rupana, Gurdev Singh Pannu and Dalip Singh

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Deep of the later writings.¹

Kartar Singh Duggal wrote more than any other on the savagery and devilishness of this holocaust as he himself was a witness and was scared of its brutality. In 1948 he published his *Aag Khan Wale* (Fire-eaters) : a collection of short stories related to the dreadful scenes of partition massacre. His narrative depicted the animal instincts of men and their cruelties, the glowing hatredness among the rioters, anger and lust for women. Cowards also became 'brave' in such acts, the entire atmosphere had engulfed fear, helplessness and doubt; women and children cried during nights because of the dreadfulness. Daughters were raped before the eyes of their parents; on the other, instances were available to the developing love affairs between the Muslim boys and Hindu girls and that the girls desired to stay in Pakistan. The communal political parties have been criticised for their role in human tragedy and the protests had been lodged to God alone. The destruction in Amritsar affected deeply when the role of police was not impartial.²

Hindu-Muslim unity has been portrayed and Gandhi is projected as a martyr victim of an imperialist, selfish or supporter of a communalist party. There is also depiction of love between a Muslim girl and a Hindu boy.³ There is sympathy for the poor belonging to all communities and attempted unity for them on the basis of mutual affection, brotherhood and the generated feelings of *bhaichara*.⁴ Destruction during communal frenzy has been narrated and the Congress government criticised for its share of lack of responsibility to prevent the partition violence and also the inadequate relief operations for the refugees when the people were facing starvation, children crying, but the official machinery remained unsympathetic.⁵ Muslims have been portrayed as comparatively cruel and more tyrant during partition retaliations.⁶

The issue of domination and hegemony has been portrayed through the expression of sense of insecurity and scare on the imminence of events

1. Bhiminder Singh, *Adhunik Punjabi Kahaani, Siasi Pripekha*, Kuknus Parkashan, Jalandhar, 2002, p.68; Dipak Manmohan, *Desh Di Vand di Punjabi Sahit Te Pae Parbhav* (Galap de adhar te), Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1989 and Kartar Singh Duggal, *Aag Khaan Wale Te Hor Kahanian*, Navyug Publishers, New Delhi, 1995. It is informed that on the issue of Partition and the communal riots more than 50 short story writers have penned. Dipak Manmohan, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
2. Dipak Manmohan, *op.cit.*, pp. 83-84.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

when Hindus and Sikhs observed a Muslim man and a girl (of other community) openly enjoying themselves during night in a running train. Nobody could dared to object but reacted that Pakistan had not yet come into existence.⁷ Atrocities committed by the Muslims on the Sikhs and Hindus in the western parts of Punjab are narrated when some resistance was given to the Muslim rioters who were busy in murdering, looting, burning of property and kidnapping of women. The women jumped into the wells to save themselves to be raped by the *goondas*.⁸

It has also been noticed that the Muslims of one locality in Amritsar were notorious in making and supplying knives and bayonets to the Muslims throughout the province. They never hesitated in murdering Hindus and Sikhs. In revenge, the Hindus bombarded the Muslim houses and killed the Muslims with guns. They were massacred and their property was burnt. The looted goods were sold in the markets. Similar action was expected in the Muslim majority areas of West Punjab where Muslims quenched their thirst by Hindu and Sikh blood. Their houses, factories, machines, brick-kilns and other properties were destroyed. The situation became so-tragic that refugees also did not hesitate to kill each other for the sake of possession of properties and houses. On the other, the state machinery, particularly the police remained largely a witness during the carnage. Yet the flow of *Gurbani* from Darbar Sahib, Amritsar continued uninterrupted.⁹

The writings also emphasised that the communal riots first began in Bengal and Bihar and later on culminated in Rawalpindi where the Muslims burnt the villages of Hindus and Sikhs; killed children, young and old, women were raped and forcibly converted to Islam. Cows were butchered in the Hindu temples and the Muslims smoke in Gurdwaras. This also affected the city of Lahore where there were separate settlements for Muslims on one side, and the Sikhs and Hindus on other side of the new colonies. In Rawalpindi the Muslims from the nearby villages looted the city. Majority community areas had domination over the minorities. Mutual hatredness turned into savagery and it resulted into the massacre of the three major communities of Punjab.¹⁰ Even the cattle were not spared and were butchered by the rival communities.¹¹

Yet, presence of human elements of emotions was equally visible under

7. Duggal, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-13.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-18.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-24

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-31.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

the pressure of specific circumstances that resulted into marriage alliances between the opposing fraternities and gradually developed into love affairs. However, the policy adopted by the officials culminated into their forcible separations.¹² It has also been stressed that the national leadership accepted freedom at the cost of destruction of Punjab. Moreover, the conditions in refugee camps of relief remained miserable because of the indifferent attitude of the official machinery and administration. Consequently, plight of the partition victims in the camps became desperate and helplessness.¹³ Similarly, murder of Mahatma Gandhi by an Hindu attracted notice but a Sikh successfully married a Muslim girl after Partition.¹⁴

An effort is visible being made to fix responsibility of the Partition violence on Jawaharlal Nehru. It was alleged that women had sold their gold jewellery to achieve Independence which however, came only after walking on the dead bodies of the innocents and not over the bodies of the politicians. The government was also criticised for the early closures of the refugee relief camps where the conditions were unbearable leading to deaths of a large number of children.¹⁵ The struggle for re-settlement of the refugees pressurised them to go to foreign countries on work permits in order to earn their livelihood, leaving behind their families.¹⁶

Exchange of population after Partition was strongly influenced by the degree of revenge. That the partition soldiers when taking back the Muslims to Pakistan killed the Sikhs on their ways.¹⁷ Yet the reverse of human behaviour was evident when a Sikh who resisted an attack of the Muslims at Rawalpindi in March was saving the Muslims in August.¹⁸ In another instance, a rioting Pathan took pity on a Hindu girl during attack on her.¹⁹ But the effects of the tragedy had to be observed in the form of the breaking away of families of the refugees when their women had to become keeps of others. Even the rich refugees had equally to struggle hard for survival.²⁰

There is also focus on the fact that the religious symbols were enough for attacks by the other groups. The plight of women at Hira Mandi, Lahore

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-42.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-49.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-58.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-76.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-80.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-86.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-101.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-97.

became miserable. Yet the aftermath of Partition, related destruction and violence continued haunting the people for longer times impinging upon their psyche.²¹

Sant Singh Sekhon, a noted Punjabi writer, focussed on the identification of roots of the Partition, in his writings. For him, it was the national movement, the parties, nation and individuals responsible for the partition tragedy. He viewed the massacre as a product of the devilish imperial power. He commented that no economic change occurred after freedom but the commercial classes had actually empowered the ruling class. Old exploitation and economic inequality continued unabated and thus sharpened for benefits of the exploitative classes. In contrast, the official machinery adopted the same methodology in suppressing the people's protests and movements.²²

Sujjan Singh was a witness to the carnage since he was working for the Shiromani Committee. He was deputed to collect information on atrocities committed at Wah Camp and Rawalpindi. Based on this experience he wrote *Manukh Te Pashu*, in which he depicted the events of violence from humanitarian point of view. He projected that if on the one side there was dread of partition violence; on the other, existence of human bonds of friendship and basic values existed. Although religious intolerance and mutual hatred also existed simultaneously. He was of the view that with the cooling down of tempers, feelings of affection could be restored; logic and justice would prevail and it would end in victory for love and trust. Yet the people portrayed by him were from the lower strata of society who had to sacrifice much during the struggle for their survival.²³

Kulwant Singh Virk was also a testimony to massacre and he utilised in his writings the events of kidnappings, feelings of the refugees, changing character of wives and womanhood and the human relationships during the communal/religious savagery. Primarily, his focus was on the Virk tribe or community during partition and their life as refugees.²⁴ Santokh Singh Dhir perceived mutual affection among Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims before the partition but projected the culmination of hatred as its consequence. He viewed freedom only to the very rich, officials and contractors but not to the poor who were crushed during the clashes. However, they were left only to lodge

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-144.

22. Dipak Manmohan, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-90.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.

their complaint to God. Retaliations during attacks, brutality and tyranny were common; which in most cases were the results of incitements by the respective religious leadership.²⁵

For Gurbux Singh it was the destruction of human unity that emerged as the causality of communal passions.²⁶ Gurmukh Singh Musafir focused on the perception of a rich and poor refugee on the events of partition. He also repeated existence of harmony among communities before the sequences. Yet he fixed responsibility of the Partition on political factors.²⁷ Mahinder Singh Sarna presented sacrifice of a Muslim to save his Sikh / Hindu neighbours. Kidnapped women also attracted attention of his writing that revealed savagery of the situations.²⁸ Hira Singh Dard criticised the imperial power for riots and condemned the role of police and security forces during the violence. Amrita Pritam made dead bodies of the victims of violence as the subject of her stories.²⁹ Navtej Singh Preetlari took the issue of communal frenzy and the darker side of riots.³⁰ Jaswant Singh Kanwal was also an employee of the Shiromani Committee during Partition. He accompanied Sujjan Singh to collect information. He served in a refugee camp and hatred religious animosities.³¹

Thus, the literary constructions of the 'Partition' are deeply concerned about the fate of humans. The social tragedy that befell on all the three major communities of the province becomes central as it was bound to affect the society and the sensibility of the writers. The literature also identified the kinds of atrocities specifically on the children and women. Rape emerged as the prominent feature of this upheaval after kidnapping. Apart from the gregarious consequences which also cover the contrary aspect of human behaviour in the form of affection and love; the next issue to attract attention of these writers is the plight and future of the migrated populace. The refugees had to face endless difficulties to which the state response was very inadequate. The third issue is the identification of the causes of this holocaust.

Most of these writings of writers put the onus on the political developments of the British administration along with role of various political parties. They gave emphasis that the Punjab Society was living in harmony

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94; and Bhiminder Singh, *op.cit.*, p.68.

26. *Ibid.*, p.95; and Bhiminder Singh, *op.cit.*, p.68.

27. *Ibid.*, p.96; and Bhiminder Singh, *op.cit.*, p.69.

28. *Ibid.*, p.96; and Bhiminder Singh, *op.cit.*, p.69.

29. *Ibid.*, p.97.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

31. *Ibid.*, p.96.

before the events of the tragedy took place. But this humanitarian approach also needed to examine the process of socio-economic and political transformation of the society under the colonial circumstances. This analysis of the Partition would certainly provide a different perspective and also that the communal riots had already begun in the region since 1880.¹ In fact the actuality of the circumstances shows that despite the existence of common bonds of affection there always simultaneously exist the undercurrents of animosity and hatred against others. The existence of this very phenomenon coupled with the future course of developments generate different formations. Only this type of understanding could help in visualising the event in its appropriate perspective.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF COALITION GOVERNMENTS IN PUNJAB

*Sunita Rani**

Punjab has always played a major role in the history of India. The history of Punjab has left a deep imprint on the course of Indian history and the people of Punjab, through their courage and patriotism have carved out an important place for themselves. Every society has unique pattern of its social, economic and political characteristics. These characteristics are interrelated. The politics of every state is very much influenced and conditioned by their socio-economic factors. Since independence the politics of Punjab may be divided into two parts :

1. Pre-Punjabi Suba era: 1947-1966 A.D.
2. Post-Punjabi Suba era: 1966 A.D. onward.

Like other states Punjab also witnessed the formation of coalition governments.¹ Since independence, the party system in Punjab has been a reflection of the party system at the centre in the sense that all the national political parties of India have their branches in the states. Congress Party² dominated the centre as well as in the states. It occupied a central position leaving all other parties on periphery. It had its government at the centre which could assure all resources necessary for election campaign.³

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1. A coalition situation can be regarded as "the joint use of resources in determining the outcome of a mixed motive situation involving more than two units", William A. Gamson, "Coalition Formation", *International Encyclopaedia of Social Science*, Vol. II, Macmillan, New York, 1968, p.530.
2. The Indian National Congress (subsequently described as Congress) was formed on 28th December 1885 in Bombay by A.O. Hume. The Congress party is the oldest among all other parties in India. It has played a major role in the national level as well as state level. Ravinder Kaur, *Legislative Leadership in Punjab*, Madaan Publications, Patiala, 2002, p.23; See also Lakhwinder Singh Sidhu, *Party Politics in Punjab*, Harnam Publications, New Delhi, 1994, pp.60-62; See also B.R. Nayar, *Minority Politics in Punjab*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966, p.26.
3. K.C. Markandan, *Aspects of Indian Politics* (Volume II), ABS Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p.736.

Before independence,⁴ the Akali Dal⁵ and the Congress, who had cordial relations, entered into electoral alliance for contesting elections. After independence, these two parties have been arch political rivals. During the assembly elections of 1952 and 1962, the Akali Dal had seat adjustment with the Communist Party of India (CPI) and Praja Socialist Party (PSP). The Congress had contested the elections independently as it had established its hegemony in the Punjab. After the partition of Punjab, the Congress Party got absolute majority under the Presidentship of Gopi Chand Bhargava in the State Legislative Assembly which consisted of seventy-nine members. The Congress Party remained in power for the next four years. No doubt, this was a period of intense factional fight for power between the two major factions of the Punjab Congress Legislative Party – one led by Gopi Chand Bhargava and the other by Bhim Sen Sachar.⁶ To ensure himself against a challenge from Bhim Sen Sachar, Gopi Chand brought about the merger of 23 *Panthic* MLAs into the Congress party. As a price, he had to concede the setting up of Minority Committee to present the Sikh case to the Constituent Assembly.⁷

Gopi Chand Bhargava resigned because of a vote of no-confidence against him from Akali Dal and Bhim Sen Sachar took over as Chief Minister on April 6, 1949. After the assumption of power Sachar launched a vigorous campaign against corruption. Bhargava group reacted to this by submitting a charge-sheet against the Chief Minister to the Congress High Command. As a

4. The partition of the country at the time of independence in 1947 reduced Punjab to almost one third of its size. That segment of Punjab which continued to form a part of India (first) called East Punjab, inherited 34% of the area and 47% of the population of the Punjab. The Indian princely states in this area were grouped together and were integrated into a new political unit called PEPSU (that is Patiala and the East Punjab States Union) in 1948. On 1 November 1956, PEPSU was merged in Punjab. After ten years later, Punjab was reorganised on linguistic basis into the Punjabi-speaking state of Punjab and the Hindi-speaking state of Haryana.

Iqbal Narayan, *State Politics in India*, Meenakshi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1976, p.262.

5. Akali Dal is a major regional political party of Punjab. It was formed during the days of Gurdwara Reform Movement of the 1920s. The main leaders of Akali Dal were Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Giani Dhanwant Singh, Ganga Singh, Harnam Singh Advocate, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musaffir, etc. *The Akali*, January 20 and 25, 1937; See also K.C. Yadav, *Elections in Punjab (1922-37)*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1987, p.17; See also *The Tribune*, April 2, 1937; See also Ajit Singh, *Shiromani Akali Dal, Regional Political Study (1947-1990)*, Arman Publications, Kapurthala, 2005, pp. 17-18.

6. Ravinder Kaur, *op.cit.*, pp.36-37.

7. K.C. Gulati, *Akali's Past and Present*, Asha Janak Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p.173.

result Sachar tendered his resignation on October 18, 1949. Gopi Chand Bhargava assumed office again as Chief Minister with the support of Sardar Patel.⁸ One of the important achievements of Sachar government, he gave Akalis the so-called Sachar Formula in October 1949, which provided for national division of the province into two zones, a Punjabi zone and a Hindi zone.⁹

On March 30, 1951, the Sachar-Kairon faction charged Bhargava working under the dictates of the Akali group and they submitted a petition (signed by thirty Congress MLAs) to the High Command to table a vote of no-confidence against the Chief Minister. As a result in May 1951, Bhargava resigned under protest on June 16, 1951.¹⁰ The President's rule was imposed on June 20, 1951, on the ground that the constitutional machinery had broken down in the State of Punjab.¹¹ After that the first attempt of the Sikhs, therefore, was to have a separate electorate and reservation of seats for themselves when the Constituent Assembly outrightly rejected the demands, especially the one for reservation of seats in the legislature, as they conflicted with the basic values of the new regime, the Akalis made a demand for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state, popularly known as the Punjabi Suba.¹² On August 2, 1948, the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state was raised in a press conference by Tara Singh.

On February 21, 1952 in First General Elections in Punjab, Congress secured a clear majority as it won 95 seats out of 126 assembly seats. The Akalis got only 13 seats. At the instance of Maulana Azad, Bhim Sain Sachar was chosen to lead the Congress party and the new government.¹³ Whereas the Akali Dal entered the fray mainly on the issue of a 'Punjabi-speaking state', the Congress in addition to expressing its opposition to such a demand published extensively its economic programme at state and national level and appealed to the voters for the cause of national reconstruction.¹⁴ Sachar was replaced by Partap Singh Kairon as Chief Minister in January 23, 1956. Kairon

8. Dalip Singh, *Dynamics of Punjab Politics*, Macmillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, pp.13-14.

9. K.C.Gulati, *op.cit.*, p.174.

10. Dalip Singh, *op.cit.*, p.14.

11. Ravinder Kaur, *op.cit.*, p.37.

12. A.S. Narang, *A Study in Democracy, Development and Distortion: Punjab Politics in National Perspective*, Gitanjali Publishing House, New Delhi, 1986, pp.27-28.

13. Baldev Raj Nayar, *Minority Politics in Punjab*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1966, pp.222-223.

14. Ajit Singh, *op. cit.*, p.196.

proved a strong Chief Minister in the ministerial and organisational wings who dominated the political scene of Punjab till 1964. With the assumption of power by Kairon, a qualitative change also occurred in Punjab politics, so far urban-oriented ministry acquired a rural bias, which became prominent in the coming years.¹⁵ Thus, the Akali Dal launched a massive agitation in support of its demands and presented itself as a powerful political force. A compromise was arrived at in the shape of the so-called "Regional Formula".¹⁶

The Second General Elections held in 1957 which gave the Congress an overwhelming majority. The Regional Formula was shelved as the Chief Minister (Kairon) was not favourably inclined to it. The fast-unto-death by Sant Fateh Singh from December 18 to January 9, 1961 and Master Tara Singh from August 15, 1961 to October 2, 1961, created an atmosphere of tension and gloom in the state and this failed to carry conviction with Kairon and Nehru.¹⁷ Due to various splits in the ranks of Akali Dal, the party lost much support in the Third General Elections held in 1962.

The Congress party contested 154 seats and won 90 and Akali Dal won 19 seats out of contested 46. Kairon had to face a stiff opposition from the several factions of his party; yet he had a strong support of the Congress High Command, Kairon ruled Punjab till he was forced to resign in 1964. After that he was held guilty of corruption by Dass Commission.¹⁸ Ram Krishan (a figure-head) was chosen as the Chief Minister in 1964. He proved very weak as he had no group of his own to support him either in or outside the legislature, so he resigned in 1966 and President's Rule was imposed in Punjab on July 5, 1966.¹⁹

The style of coalition government in one form or another became a necessity imposed by the compulsion of the political situation. Neither of the two general elections returned any political party with absolute majority of seats to the Vidhan Sabha. The decline of the Congress left a power vacuum which remains unfilled even to this day. Three factors played a determining role in the formulation of coalition governments in Punjab after its re-organisation:

15. Ravinder Kaur, *op. cit.*, p.38.

16. According to 1956 Regional Formula, PEPSU and Punjab were merged and compact state was divided into Hindi-speaking and Punjabi-speaking regions.

Ajit Singh, *op. cit.*, p.198.

17. K.C. Gulati, *op. cit.*, p.176.

18. Ravinder Kaur, *op. cit.*, p.40.

19. Dalip Singh, *op. cit.*, p.19.

1. As a result of the re-organisation of the Punjab, the Sikhs, came to form the majority community in the state and this inspired the Akali Dal, whose membership is open only to the Sikhs, with a sense of mission to form the new ruling class.
2. The political ambitions of the Akalis were whetted by the visible decline of the Congress party as well as by the intense anti-Congress stance of the former opposition parties.
3. The decline of the Congress party, the anti-Congress stance of the formerly opposition parties both at the time of the fourth general elections and at the time of the mid-term elections.²⁰

The first elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly after reorganisation (November 1, 1966) were held in February 1967.²¹ In the fourth general elections, no party or group of parties could secure a majority of seats in the legislature. "These elections can be considered as a major water-shed as these elections ended the era of one-party dominance. The Congress failed to win a majority in the Assembly for the first time since independence, though it continued to be the single largest party by capturing 48 seats out of 104."²² The poor performance of the Congress in Punjab was primarily due to factional differences in the party and due to its opposition to the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state.²³

The United Front Ministry was formed on March 8, 1967, headed by Gurnam Singh. It included all the political parties represented in the legislature other than the Congress party.²⁴ On the whole, the United Front ministry of Gurnam Singh worked well. It was almost successful coalition government in Punjab. It set standards of honesty in administration and played down communal passions. But the ministry had to face many odds like defections

20. J.C. Anand, "The Punjab Akalis in the Coalition", in K.P. Karunakaran (ed.), *Coalition Governments in India, Problems and Prospects*, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla, 1975, p.242.

21. J.S. Deol, *State Politics in India*, New Academic Publishing Co., Jalandhar, 1986, p.207.

22. It suffered a great setback in the districts of Bathinda, Sangrur, Ludhiana, Amritsar and Ferozepur. Lakhwinder Singh Sidhu, *op. cit.*, pp.136-137.

23. Dalip Singh, *op. cit.*, p.242.

24. It worked on the basis of its Eleven-Point Programme which included good administration, communal harmony, control the rising prices, food production, rehabilitation of trade industries, tax relief, welfare of the SCs/STs etc.

Subhas C. Kashyap, *The Politics of Power, Defections and State Politics in India*, National Publishing House, Delhi, 1974, p.385.

from its own ranks, personal ambitions of legislators, differences among its constituent political parties over matters of policy and the worst of all a power struggle inside the Sant Akali Dal, which was the dominant party in the coalition.²⁵ Gurnam Singh resigned on November 22, 1967 because Lachhman Singh Gill, succeeded in leading a large-scale defections of 17 MLAs from the United Front to form a new group. The latter lost the majority support and consequently the ministry fell after a brief tenure of nine months.²⁶ After that Lachhman Singh Gill formed a minority government on November 25, 1967, under the banner of Janta Party with the support of the Congress.²⁷ The period of Gill Ministry was marked by a series of political and constitutional distempers. A serious constitutional controversy was caused when the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, J.S. Mann, adjourned the Budget Session of the Punjab Assembly on March 7, 1968, for two months on the ground that the House was very angry and rowdy. Its other drawbacks were that Janta Party had no constitution and policies of its own and it has strength of only 18 members out of total strength of 104.²⁸

On August 20, 1968, the Congress High Command instructed Congress legislators in Punjab to withdraw their support from the minority government of Lachhman Singh Gill, the mid-term elections to the assembly were held in February 1969. In these elections, the Akali Dal had an electoral alliance with the Jana Sangh and a partial adjustment of seats with all other non-Congress parties. In these elections two factions of Akali Dal i.e. the Sant group and the Master group decided to fight the elections as a single party.²⁹ The 2nd coalition ministry in Punjab was formed in February 1969 under Gurnam Singh. The Akali Dal came out with flying colours capturing as many as 43 seats in a House of 103, Congress got 38 and Jana Sangh got 8 seats.³⁰ Akali Dal emerged as the single largest party in the Assembly for the first time in its history.³¹

25. Iqbal Narain, *op. cit.*, p.276.

26. Paul Wallace and Surinder Chopra, *op. cit.*, p.184.

27. All the members of the Gill ministry were defectors from the United Front. A.S. Narang, *op. cit.*, p.67.

28. Iqbal Narain, *op. cit.*, p.279.

29. J.C. Anand, "Mid-term Polls In Punjab," *Political Science Review*, Vol. 10 (1&2), January-June 1971, p.31.

30. S.R. Bakshi, *Contemporary Politics Leadership in India*, Parkash Singh Badal, Chief Minister of Punjab, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1998, p.94.

31. These elections further deteriorated the image of the Congress and it relegated the party to a secondary position. Akali party contested polls on the issues of inclusion of

The Akali Dal as the leader of the first non-Congress coalition ministry played a commendable role in generating a climate of communal harmony in the state. It gave a new direction to state politics by entering into a working alliance with all the non-Congress parties which removed all the doubts of the alleged theocratic moorings of the Akali Dal.³²

The ten point programme of this coalition government was a continuation of the programme of the United Front Ministry. As a matter of fact, the common programme represented an amalgam of the basic commitments of Akali Dal and the Jana Sangh towards ameliorating the conditions of the rural peasantry and the middle class urban trading community. The Akali-Jana Sangh coalition government started its functioning in a spirit of the co-operation. But the course of this alliance did not run smooth for a long time.³³ The ministry faced a difficult time all along due to mounting political crises over the issue of the restoration of Chandigarh to the Punjab, first by Darshan Singh Pheruman's immolation to death by fasting and then by Sant Fateh Singh's threat to burn himself alive on February 1, 1970 if his demands for Chandigarh and for other Punjabi-speaking areas were not conceded.³⁴ Another difference between the Akali Dal and the Jana Sangh arose over such issues as the language policy and factional fighting within the Akali ranks continued. On account of these constraints, the survival of the Akali-Jana Sangh coalition ministry had become almost impossible. The dissatisfied dominant Akali faction along with the support of the Jana Sangh and the CPI(M) finally out-voted the Gurnam Singh ministry on March 25, 1970.³⁵ He resigned on March 26, 1970.³⁶

After the resignation of Gurnam Singh, another Akali-Jana Sangh coalition ministry, under the leadership of Parkash Singh Badal as Chief Minister, was formed on March 27, 1970. He had two cabinet colleagues –

[Contd. from last page]

Chandigarh, Bhakra Dam complex and remaining Punjabi-speaking areas in Punjab, to form the coalition government with other non-Congress parties; to raise the status of Punjabi language and also that of Hindi language in Punjab; more autonomy to be given to Punjab state. *Ibid.*

32. Jamshid Ali Khan, *Politics of Coalition Governments in Punjab*, Madaan Publications, Patiala, 2006, p.67.

33. Lakhwinder Singh Sidhu, *op. cit.*, pp.144-145.

34. J.C. Anand, *op. cit.*, p.240.

35. S. Bhatnagar and P.S. Verma, "Coalition Governments (1967-80)", quoted in Paul Wallace and Surinder Chopra, *Political Dynamics of Punjab*, Department of Political Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1981, pp.184-185.

36. Jamshid Ali Khan, *op. cit.*, pp.72-73.

Balwant Singh (Sant Akali Dal) and Balramji Das Tandon (Jana Sangh). This was a coalition government consisting of the same old partners – The Akali Dal and The Jana Sangh. Sardar Badal called on the Chief Minister on June 26, along with fifty-four supporters.³⁷

On the other hand, Gurnam Singh made frantic efforts to form a government with the support of Congress but failed to do so. After this Parkash Singh Badal as Chief Minister was administered the oath of office on March 27, 1970. After assumption of power, the Chief Minister announced eleven-point programme and promised to fulfil some of them at the earliest. Apart from conceding the demands of the Jana Sangh the new programme of the Badal Ministry continued to be pro-peasant and rural-oriented. The minimum programme fully reflected the basic commitment of the Akali Dal to tackle the problems of the poor peasantry and other backward classes including the Scheduled Castes. On April 25, the Central leadership of Jana Sangh expressed its dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Akali Dal for not fulfilling the promises. On June 30, the Jana Sangh formally withdrew from the ministry and all the four Jana Sangh ministers resigned the same day.³⁸ The junior partner of coalition government withdrew its support to the ministry and preferred to sit in the opposition. The problem before the Akali leadership was how to save the government in the coming session. There were only three possible ways in which the Akali Government could be saved. These were:

1. To request Gurnam Singh group to come to its parent body i.e. the Sant Akali Dal.
2. To secure the re-entry of the Jana Sangh by accepting its major demands.
3. To brush aside all the small parties, including the Jana Sangh and have an alliance with the Congress on a relatively permanent basis.³⁹

Since the combined strength of the two Akali Dals (Sant and Gurnam Singh) was 57 in a House of 104 it was strongly pleaded by the prominent Sikh leaders that there should be a purely Akali government by securing unity among the Akali MLAs. But Jana Sangh refused to support the Akali Dal on mere promises because while remaining in the coalition, it had learnt a lesson not to trust the empty promises of the Akali leaders.⁴⁰

37. S.C. Arora, *Turmoil on Punjab Politics*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p.129.

38. S.R. Bakshi, *op. cit.*, p.109.

39. Devinder Singh, *Akali Politics in Punjab (1964-1985)*, National Book Organisation, New Delhi, 1993, pp.111-112.

40. *Ibid.*

The Akali Dal and Congress fell out over the issue of the adjustment of seats in parliamentary elections in 1971. Badal advised the Governor to dissolve the assembly which he did on June 15, 1971 and President's rule was imposed on the state which continued till the assembly elections which were held in March 1972. Thus ended the third coalition government.⁴¹

On June 25, 1975, President's rule continued in Punjab till the formation of new ministry. Almost all the leaders of political parties were arrested throughout the country. Although, there was country-wide reaction against the imposition of national emergency, yet the Akali Dal launched a 'Sava Democracy Morcha'. This Morcha changed the character of the Akali Dal, and provided a democratic and nationalistic image to the party as against the communal image.⁴²

The second phase of coalition government emerged in the wake of national emergency, the period during which almost all the opposition leaders and some of their associates were sent to jails, where the diverse groups developed a understanding resulting into the birth of Janta Party.⁴³

After the emergency, the elections to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha were held on June 12, 1977. A new party (Janta Party) had emerged as the strongest party at the national level. It ousted the Congress from the power at the Centre. The Jana Sangh was also merged with the Janta Party. The Akali Dal contested in 1977 Assembly Elections in alliance with the Janta Party along with the CPM.⁴⁴ The number of assembly seats in Punjab was increased from 104 to 117.⁴⁵ Since the ministry in power was safe with majority in the Assembly, the Chief Minister did not feel any necessity to encourage members from the opposition parties to defeat to the ruling coalition by providing them ministries.⁴⁶

In the beginning, there were cordial relations between the ministerial wing and the organisational wing, led by the party Chief, Jagdev Singh Talwandi, in confrontation with the ministerial group headed by Parkash Singh Badal. The factional conflict within the Akali Dal continued for over thirty months (from 1977 till the dismissal of the Badal Ministry on February 17, 1980). The main reasons for the conflict were:

41. J.C. Anand, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

42. Ajit Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

43. Devinder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

44. *The Times of India*, January 24, 1977.

45. *The Tribune*, June 21, 1977.

46. Jamshid Ali Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

1. The two groups clashed over the handling of the Nirankari issue after the Sikh-Nirankari armed clash on April 13, 1978 at Amritsar.
2. The dismissal of Sukhjinder Singh (Education Minister) from the Cabinet on October 11, 1978.
3. The alleged soft-peddalling of the Chief Minister by the Janta Party (his alliance partner).⁴⁷

The difference between Akali Dal and Janta Party arose over the issue of extending support to Morarji Desai or Charan Singh in their struggle to capture the Prime Ministerial posts.⁴⁸ Badal tried his best to rally support for Morarji Desai, but the Working Committee of Akali Dal on July 25, 1979 decided to remain neutral till the current political situation settled. As the result of neutrality, the two Akali Ministers (Surjit Singh Barnala and Dhanna Singh Gulshan) resigned from the Desai Government on July 26, 1979.⁴⁹ Due to the disintegration of the Janata Party, Charan Singh managed to secure majority support in the Lok Sabha and he was consequently installed as the Prime Minister on July 28, 1979.⁵⁰

The Akali leadership was divided on the issue of support to the new government. While Badal and his supporters were not in favour of support to Charan Singh Government, the organisationalists were trying their level best to take a decision to support his government. At last, the organisationalists prevailed and the party decided on August 18 to support Charan Singh Government in the trial of strength on the crucial vote of confidence to be held on August 20, 1979. The next day, all the five Janta Party ministers in the Akali-Janata coalition government submitted their resignations which were accepted by the Governor on September 3, 1979. Thus the 26 month old coalition came to an end⁵¹ and President's rule was imposed in Punjab and eight other states in India. With this dismissal of the government, the second phase of coalition politics in the state came to an end. In the 1980 Vidhan Sabha elections Congress again came into power till 1985. In 1985 Assembly Elections, Akali Dal again returned into power for first time with a clear and independent majority. Congress became as an opposition party. In 1991, the

47. Devinder Pal Sandhu, *Sikhs in Indian Politics: A Study of Minority*, Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 1992, p.119.

48. S. Bhatnagar and P.S. Verma, "Coalition Government (1967-1980)", *Punjab Journal of Politics*, Vol. V, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, January-June 1981, p.127.

49. Dalip Singh, *op. cit.*, p.114.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Jamshid Ali Khan, *op. cit.*, p.82.

elections were postponed, and it were held in February 1992 after the 4 years and 9 months of Presidential rule. In these elections again Congress won the majority and formed the government till 1997.

The Sikh nationalist Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) was a coalition partner of the BJP in Punjab on and off until the 1997 assembly elections. The arose from Punjab's Hindu-Sikh demographics in which the SAD, based on a (small) Sikh majority in the state, needed votes from the (large) Hindu minority to defeat its principal rival, the Congress, which straddled both communities. Since 1998, the political calculations resulting from a share in power in the BJP's coalition have reinforced the alliance. The BJP needs the few seats it is allotted by the SAD from Punjab, as well as the parliamentary support of the party itself.⁵² Thus, the alliance is stable, given the view that Congress is the common political enemy for the SAD in the state and for the BJP in the centre.

52. Eswarn Sridharan, "Coalitions and Party Strategies in India's Parliamentary Federation", <http://publius.oxfordjournals.org>.

LEVELS AND PATTERN OF CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE OF RURAL ARTISANS IN PUNJAB

Surinder Paul* & Gnan Singh**

Indian economy is a rural economy. There are 640867 villages and 68.84 per cent of our population lives in the rural areas.¹ The term artisan is derived from French language which means craftsmen. In general artisan means a skilled worker in traditional village crafts who worked on his own account.² The artisan class has its own specific place in the rural life of the people because in ancient India the rural artisans enjoyed a reasonably good social status in the society. The services of the artisans were bartered within the village itself and village industry was based on the skills and craftsmanship of artisans and craftsmen. The products of the Indian artisans enjoyed a worldwide reputation. The *muslin* of Dacca, the *calico* of Bengal and the *sarees* of Benaras, *chintizes* of Lucknow, *dhoti* and *dopattas* of Ahmedabad, *choppahs*, *bandanas* and *corahs* (silk clothes) of Murshidabad, the *shawls* of Kashmir, Amritsar and Ludhiana, *palampore* industry of Madras Presidency, and fabrics of Madura were famous all over the world. The artisans were so efficient that "a piece of the finest *muslin* of 20 yards long and one yard wide could be made to pass through a finger ring and required six months to manufacture."³

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the English obtained exemptions of all duties in the trade from Farrukhsiar, great grand-son of Aurangzeb. This was the commercial charter for the Britishers in India. Before the nineteenth century India imported no manufactured metal products except for insignificant amount of luxury goods. During the nineteenth century there was a sudden and quick collapse of the urban handicrafts due to competition with the cheaper imported machine made goods from Britain which affects

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1. Government of India, *Census of India*, 2011. [http : //www.censusindia.gov.in](http://www.censusindia.gov.in)
2. Raghavalu, V. M., *Economics of Rural Artisans' Complexes*, University Book Pvt. Ltd., Jaipur, 2003.
3. Gadgil, D.R., *The industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times*, Oxford University Press, 1938.

the economic condition of the rural artisans. As a result Dacca, Surath, Murshidabad and many other populous handicraft centres were depopulated and laid waste.

The British rulers did not care to provide any alternative source of employment to these artisans and most of the artisans were forced to work as the agricultural labourers. The British policies of free trade uprooted Indian's traditional crafts and trade and many craftsmen and the artisans were forced to live in misery and destitution leaving their crafts and activities. As a result, most efficient and best artisanal activities known for their artistic values remained as a mere tradition, a memory of the past and the artisans experienced the severity of unemployment and lived in abject poverty.⁴

Even during the post-Independence period the policy of modernization adopted in the organized industries in the country had generated adverse effect on the rural artisans. The development of agriculture due to the adoption of new agricultural strategy during the mid-sixties increased the purchasing power in the agricultural sector which created new demand for agricultural inputs as well as consumer goods further increased hardships to the rural artisans who had been depending on the traditional industries for their livelihood.

The main aim of the present study is to analyse the levels and pattern of consumption expenditure among the rural artisans in Punjab. For the analysis of levels and pattern of consumption expenditure of rural artisans in Punjab, the whole state has been divided into three homogeneous agro-climatic/crop/cultural zones on the basis of climate, soil type, cropping pattern, holding-size, history and culture of land tenures and farming community. Under this criterion the districts of Hoshiarpur, Ropar, Nawanshahar comprise the zone-I: sub-mountainous zone. Bathinda, Mansa, Ferozepur, Faridkot, Mukatsar districts come in the zone II: south-west zone. The remaining twelve districts Barnala, Fatehgarh Sahib, Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Kapurthala, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Tarn Taran, Moga, Mohali, Patiala and Sangrur comprise the zone-III: central zone. One district from each zone has been randomly selected for the study. From zone-I Hoshiarpur district, from zone-II Bathinda district and from zone-III Ludhiana district have been selected. On the basis of random sampling one village from each developmental block is selected. Thus, in all, thirty villages are selected from the three sampled districts. These include ten villages from Hoshiarpur district, eight villages from Bathinda district and

4. Nagaraja. B., *Neglected Rural Artisans : Their Plight and Development*, Khadigramodyog, Vol. XXXIV(8), 1988, pp. 353-368.

twelve villages from Ludhiana district. A sample of about 20 per cent households i.e. 508 rural artisan households has been taken. Each trade of the rural artisans has been given proportionate representation. In this way 147, 180 and 181 households were selected from Bathinda, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana districts, respectively. The present study is based on primary source of cross section data for the year 2008-2009.

The consumption basket constitutes consumer non-durable items (food and non-food), durable items, services and socio-religious ceremonies. The important constituents of consumer non-durable food items are cereals, pulses, vegetables, sugarcane products, edible oils, milk and milk products, tea leaves, intoxicants and other items of daily use, while non-food items are fuel and light, clothing and bedding, toiletries, foot wear, washing articles etc. The consumer durables consist of house construction/repairs, electronic goods, electric fans, watches and clocks, furniture, scooter/motor cycle, hand-pump, LPG connection etc. The services cover expenditure on education, health care, telephone and entertainment, while the socio-religious ceremonies include marriages and other social and religious functions.

The information about the mean values of the consumption expenditure made by the rural artisan households is depicted in Table 1 which reveals that the annual consumption expenditure of an average rural artisan household in rural Punjab comes to be Rs.43976.82. Item-wise, the consumption pattern shows that out of the total consumption expenditure made by an average rural artisan household, Rs. 26363.07 is spent on non-durable items (food and non-food), while Rs. 4720.52, Rs. 6168.89 and Rs. 6724.35 is spent on durable items, services and socio-religious ceremonies, respectively. The category-wise analysis highlights the fact that so far as consumption expenditure on non-durable items is concerned, the maximum consumption expenditure is made by potters (Rs.31369.36) and the minimum consumption expenditure is made by tailors (Rs. 24216.83). So far as the consumption expenditure on durable items is concerned, the maximum consumption expenditure is made by cobblers, while the minimum consumption expenditure is made by basket-makers. In the case of services, the maximum consumption expenditure is made by the basket-makers and the minimum consumption expenditure is incurred by cobblers.

Table 1
Levels of Consumption Expenditure of Rural Artisan Households
(Mean values, Rs., per annum)

Items of Consumption	Black-smiths	Carpenters	Masons	Tailors	Barbers	Basket-Makers	Potters	Cobblers	All Sampled H.Hs.
Non-durable:food									
Cereals	6908.24	6300.75	6573.31	5859.68	6320.76	6829.27	7263.35	6681.25	6435.84
Pulses	1025.88	1017.26	848.37	785.57	994.23	930.27	1633.95	1125.39	940.18
Condiments & spices	491.18	486.78	496.83	512.06	454.81	507.33	673.81	586.25	500.72
Fruits	1122.06	974.52	1062.97	874.59	995.27	1104.80	1430.37	1127.73	1025.99
Vegetables	1310.29	1090.23	1135.80	995.51	1220.77	1208.27	1618.21	1318.20	1148.06
Milk & milk products	7607.18	7340.19	7449.20	6929.42	7504.81	7545.20	7606.89	7122.66	7360.88
Edible oils	827.94	725.25	765.34	698.94	764.42	867.07	1103.01	835.55	767.40
Sugarcane products	880.88	751.59	721.02	770.97	820.19	842.13	1121.10	861.04	778.61
Meat, fish & eggs	647.06	571.38	612.16	535.59	585.19	671.95	722.90	630.23	597.60
Tea leaves	787.94	674.33	741.61	655.46	754.62	796.27	924.35	835.55	728.66
Refreshments	259.41	280.75	235.24	232.26	245.19	215.20	282.66	284.69	249.79
Pickles/jam/ juices	242.06	252.01	247.86	226.08	225.19	254.11	214.49	275.00	242.97
Intoxicants	1529.12	1272.82	1250.62	1068.42	1172.12	1478.53	1380.30	1009.44	1246.12
Sub-total	23639.24	21737.86	22140.33	20144.54	22055.56	23250.39	25975.39	22692.98	22022.84
Non-durable:non-food									
Fuel and light	1982.35	1729.88	1692.23	1514.61	1871.73	1688.80	2256.97	1838.16	1732.80
Clothing & bedding	1464.71	1334.07	1346.70	1229.40	1332.69	1467.33	1843.48	1430.16	1355.73
Toiletries	592.65	604.15	517.64	602.48	600.96	498.00	537.44	584.00	565.51
Footwear	318.53	318.73	257.00	315.22	295.62	252.27	377.90	302.73	292.77
Washing articles	274.71	254.38	206.45	255.13	235.38	268.72	247.44	207.05	236.60
Others	148.38	166.71	160.97	155.46	156.01	108.27	130.75	167.79	156.82
Sub-total	4781.33	4407.92	4180.98	4072.29	4492.40	4283.39	5393.97	4529.90	4340.23
Total non-durables	28420.56	26145.78	26321.32	24216.83	26547.96	27533.78	31369.36	27222.88	26363.07
Durables									
House construction and repairs	1424.41	1296.88	1253.88	1289.79	1330.19	1101.68	1455.14	1428.21	1292.31
T.V./Radio/V.C.R and CD	207.65	257.01	188.04	171.46	174.62	188.97	207.34	199.92	202.20
Watches and clocks	171.19	198.93	169.25	175.97	166.15	153.05	157.35	177.55	175.97
Electric fan & coolers	277.06	212.63	210.26	206.16	234.92	176.91	265.88	260.55	218.76
Sewing machine	180.11	250.40	265.56	472.34	210.00	123.31	168.11	265.18	272.15
Furniture	360.36	377.34	371.42	369.29	399.81	349.20	463.48	408.65	377.41
Utensils	405.00	325.46	284.23	317.25	304.53	366.95	520.81	360.08	322.26
Car/jeep	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Scooter/Motorcycle	289.25	291.48	224.87	206.02	211.62	81.60	77.35	274.72	230.34
Bicycle	262.94	245.61	244.17	242.11	261.35	274.64	250.49	246.38	248.96
Hand pump	720.97	842.49	756.18	855.45	876.92	680.44	800.36	892.99	802.83
Refrigerator	113.68	83.39	0.00	52.57	77.41	0.00	100.58	0.00	45.51
Washing machine	67.94	80.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	61.65	24.87
LPG connection	212.75	240.55	176.68	220.49	198.98	85.76	115.34	269.18	199.23
Fodder-cutters	119.59	129.91	112.18	112.73	100.71	130.56	92.41	148.19	117.09
Others	184.51	195.33	184.71	181.10	199.44	229.20	244.80	139.56	190.63
Sub-total	4997.41	5027.93	4441.45	4872.73	4746.64	3942.26	4919.46	5132.81	4720.52
Services									
Education	2050.00	2411.14	2736.21	2643.47	2173.08	2633.69	2591.99	2365.11	2523.36
Health care	2830.88	2760.17	2814.77	2632.58	2946.85	3065.84	2740.84	2603.91	2792.82
Conveyance	227.94	297.12	232.40	218.83	184.32	261.60	140.48	315.23	241.23
Telephone	295.85	299.67	263.35	270.18	276.64	263.45	270.15	254.06	276.13
Entertainment	472.06	342.53	322.23	332.15	323.71	297.87	273.64	304.35	335.35
Sub-total	5876.73	6110.63	6368.96	6097.22	5904.59	6522.45	6017.10	5842.66	6168.89
Socio-religious ceremonies									
Marriages & other social ceremonies	4198.56	4211.91	4314.09	4381.13	4240.38	3751.46	2913.02	3455.05	4189.53
Religious functions	2267.70	2681.76	2677.41	2290.38	2619.24	2368.10	2096.45	2068.91	2534.82
Sub-total	6466.26	6893.66	6991.50	6671.51	6859.62	6119.57	5009.47	5523.96	6724.35
Total	45760.96	44178.01	44123.22	41858.29	44058.82	44118.05	47315.39	43722.30	43976.82

Source : Field Survey, 2008-2009.

On socio-religious ceremonies, the maximum expenditure is incurred by masons, while the minimum expenditure is made by potters.

The above analysis of the consumption pattern of the rural artisan households is in absolute terms. Since the average consumption levels of the different categories of rural artisan households are different, the consumption pattern may be better studied by comparing the relative shares of individual items of consumption in the total consumption of the respective categories of rural artisan households. The relative shares of various components of consumption expenditure of rural artisan households have been placed in Table 2 which reveals that consumption expenditure on non-durable items (food and non-food) accounts for the major proportion of the total consumption expenditure followed by expenditure on services, socio-religious ceremonies and durable items. Almost the same pattern of consumption expenditure is observed among the different categories of the sampled rural artisan households except masons so far as the consumption expenditure on services and socio-religious ceremonies is concerned.

Item-wise analysis of the consumption pattern reveals that an average rural artisan household spends 59.95 per cent on non-durable items. Among the non-durable items, 48.30 per cent is spent on milk and milk products, cereals, fuel and light, clothing and bedding, intoxicants, vegetables, fruits and pulses. While the proportion of consumption expenditure on the remaining non-durable items varies from 0.36 per cent to 1.77 per cent only. So far as the consumption expenditure on durable items is concerned, the major proportion is spent on house construction and repairs and hand pumps. A very negligible proportion of consumption expenditure is made on all the remaining items of durables. The field survey revealed that not even a single rural artisan household has a four wheeler – car or jeep. As far as refrigerator and washing machine are concerned, the condition of the sampled rural artisan households is not satisfactory because only 0.10 and 0.06 per cent of total consumption expenditure is made on refrigerator and washing machine, respectively. From the analysis of consumption expenditure on durable items, the study revealed that the condition of the sampled rural artisan households is not good as the standard of living is affected by the use of durable goods.

Table-2 : Consumption Pattern of Rural Artisan Households
(Percentage of Total Consumption Expenditure)

Items of consumption	Black-smiths	Carpenters	Masons	Tailors	Barbers	Basket-Makers	Potters	Cobblers	All Sampled H.Hs.
Non-durables: food									
Cereals	15.10	14.26	14.90	14.00	14.35	15.48	15.35	15.28	14.63
Pulses	2.24	2.30	1.92	1.88	2.26	2.11	3.45	2.57	2.14
Condiments & spices	1.07	1.10	1.13	1.22	1.03	1.15	1.42	1.34	1.14
Fruits	2.45	2.21	2.41	2.09	2.25	2.50	3.02	2.58	2.33
Vegetables	2.86	2.47	2.57	2.38	2.77	2.74	3.42	3.01	2.61
Milk & milk products	16.62	16.62	16.88	16.55	17.03	17.10	16.08	16.29	16.74
Edible oils	1.81	1.64	1.73	1.67	1.74	1.97	2.33	1.91	1.75
Sugarcane products	1.92	1.70	1.63	1.84	1.86	1.91	2.37	1.97	1.77
Meat, fish & eggs	1.41	1.29	1.39	1.28	1.33	1.52	1.53	1.44	1.36
Tea leaves	1.72	1.53	1.68	1.57	1.71	1.80	1.95	1.91	1.66
Refreshments	0.57	0.64	0.53	0.55	0.56	0.49	0.60	0.65	0.57
Pickles/jam/ juices	0.53	0.57	0.56	0.54	0.51	0.58	0.45	0.63	0.55
Intoxicants	3.34	2.88	2.83	2.55	2.66	3.35	2.92	2.31	2.83
Sub-total	51.66	49.21	50.18	48.13	50.06	52.70	54.90	51.90	50.08
Non-durables: non-food									
Fuel and light	4.33	3.92	3.84	3.62	4.25	3.83	4.77	4.20	3.94
Clothing & bedding	3.20	3.02	3.05	2.94	3.02	3.33	3.90	3.27	3.08
Toiletries	1.30	1.37	1.17	1.44	1.36	1.13	1.14	1.34	1.29
Footwear	0.70	0.72	0.58	0.75	0.67	0.57	0.80	0.69	0.67
Washing articles	0.60	0.58	0.47	0.61	0.53	0.61	0.52	0.47	0.54
Others	0.32	0.38	0.36	0.37	0.35	0.25	0.28	0.38	0.36
Sub-total	10.45	9.98	9.48	9.73	10.20	9.71	11.40	10.36	9.87
Total non-durables	62.11	59.18	59.65	57.85	60.26	62.41	66.30	62.26	59.95
Durables									
House construction and repairs	3.11	2.94	2.84	3.08	3.02	2.50	3.08	3.27	2.94
TV/Radio/V.C.R and CD	0.45	0.58	0.43	0.41	0.40	0.43	0.44	0.46	0.46
Watches and clocks	0.37	0.45	0.38	0.42	0.38	0.35	0.33	0.41	0.40
Electric fan & coolers	0.61	0.48	0.48	0.49	0.53	0.40	0.56	0.60	0.50
Sewing machine	0.39	0.57	0.60	1.13	0.48	0.28	0.36	0.61	0.62
Furniture	0.79	0.85	0.84	0.88	0.91	0.79	0.98	0.93	0.86
Utensils	0.89	0.74	0.64	0.76	0.69	0.83	1.10	0.82	0.73
Car/jeep	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Scooter/motor cycle	0.63	0.66	0.51	0.49	0.48	0.18	0.16	0.63	0.52
Bicycle	0.57	0.56	0.55	0.58	0.59	0.62	0.53	0.56	0.57
Hand pump	1.58	1.91	1.71	2.04	1.99	1.54	1.69	2.04	1.83
Refrigerator	0.25	0.19	0.00	0.13	0.18	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.10
Washing machine	0.15	0.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.06
LPG connection	0.46	0.54	0.40	0.53	0.45	0.19	0.24	0.62	0.45
Fodder- cutter	0.26	0.29	0.25	0.27	0.23	0.30	0.20	0.34	0.27
Others	0.40	0.44	0.42	0.43	0.45	0.52	0.52	0.32	0.43
Sub-total	10.92	11.38	10.07	11.64	10.77	8.94	10.40	11.74	10.73
Services									
Education	4.48	5.46	6.20	6.32	4.93	5.97	5.48	5.41	5.74
Health Care	6.19	6.25	6.38	6.29	6.69	6.95	5.79	5.96	6.35
Conveyance	0.50	0.67	0.53	0.52	0.42	0.59	0.30	0.72	0.55
Telephone	0.65	0.68	0.60	0.65	0.63	0.60	0.57	0.58	0.63
Entertainment	1.03	0.78	0.73	0.79	0.73	0.68	0.58	0.70	0.76
Sub-total	12.84	13.83	14.43	14.57	13.40	14.78	12.72	13.36	14.03
Socio-religious ceremonies									
Marriages & other social ceremonies	9.17	9.53	9.78	10.47	9.62	8.50	6.16	7.90	9.53
Religious functions	4.96	6.07	6.07	5.47	5.94	5.37	4.43	4.73	5.76
Sub-total	14.13	15.60	15.85	15.94	15.57	13.87	10.59	12.63	15.29
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source : Computed From Table 1.

The analysis of consumption expenditure on services reveals that a major proportion is spent on only two items i.e. health-care and education. The pattern of consumption expenditure on socio-religious ceremonies is almost the same among all the categories of sampled rural artisan households because in the Indian society and culture every person has to perform some social and religious obligations.

We have analysed the consumption expenditure made by the sampled rural artisan households in absolute and relative terms. The family-size varies among the different categories of the sampled rural artisan households. So, it becomes imperative to analyse the per capita consumption level of the different categories of the sampled rural artisan households.

The information regarding the per capita consumption expenditure of the sampled rural artisan households is placed in Table 3 which reveals that per capita per annum consumption expenditure made by an average artisan household is Rs. 9048.73. The per capita consumption expenditure on non-durable items made by the sampled rural artisan households is Rs.5424.50. Out of this expenditure, Rs. 4531.45 are spent on non-durable-food items and the remaining is spent on non-durable-non-food items. The per capita consumption expenditure on durable items is Rs. 971.30, on services is Rs. 1269.32 and on socio-religious ceremonies is Rs. 1383.61. From this analysis it is observed that three-fourth of the per capita consumption expenditure is spent on non-durable items and socio-religious ceremonies which is not a healthy sign about the standard of living of the sampled rural artisan households. The category-wise analysis reveals that per capita consumption expenditure is the maximum among tailors (Rs.9895.58) and the minimum among potters (Rs.7393.03). The maximum per capita consumption expenditure on non-durable items by the different categories of rural artisan households lies among barbers (Rs.5746.31) and the minimum per capita consumption expenditure lies among cobblers (Rs.4629.74). So far as the per capita consumption expenditure on durable items is concerned, the maximum lies in case of tailors (Rs.1151.95) and the minimum lies in case of basket-makers (Rs. 735.50). The per capita consumption expenditure on services and socio-religious ceremonies is the highest (Rs. 1441.42 and Rs.1577.19 respectively) among tailors and is the lowest (Rs. 940.17 and Rs. 782.73) among potters.

Table-3
Per Capita Consumption Expenditure of Rural Artisan Households
(In Rs. Per Annum)

Items of Consumption	Black-smiths	Carpenters	Masons	Tailors	Barbers	Basket-Makers	Potters	Cobblers	All Sampled H.Hs.
Non-durables: food									
Cereals	1276.94	1355.00	1330.63	1385.27	1368.13	1274.12	1134.90	1136.27	1324.25
Pulses	189.63	218.77	171.74	185.71	215.20	173.56	255.30	191.39	193.45
Condiments & spices	90.79	104.68	100.57	121.05	98.44	94.65	105.28	99.70	103.03
Fruits	207.40	209.58	215.18	206.76	214.99	206.12	223.50	191.79	211.11
Vegetables	242.20	234.46	229.92	235.34	264.24	225.42	252.85	224.18	236.23
Milk & milk products	1406.13	1578.54	1507.93	1638.16	1624.42	1407.69	1188.58	1211.34	1514.58
Edible oils	153.04	155.97	154.93	165.23	165.46	161.77	172.35	142.10	157.90
Sugarcane products	162.82	161.63	145.96	182.26	177.53	157.11	175.17	146.44	160.21
Meat, fish & eggs	119.60	122.88	123.92	126.62	126.67	125.36	112.95	107.18	122.96
Tea leaves	145.65	145.02	150.12	154.96	163.34	148.56	144.43	142.10	149.93
Refreshments	47.95	60.38	47.62	54.91	53.07	40.15	44.17	48.42	51.40
Pickles/Jam/ Juices	44.74	54.20	50.17	53.45	48.74	47.41	33.51	46.77	49.99
Intoxicants	282.65	273.72	253.16	252.58	253.70	275.85	215.67	171.67	256.40
Sub-total	4369.54	4674.81	4481.85	4762.30	4773.93	4337.76	4058.65	3859.35	4531.45
Non-durables: non-food									
Fuel and light	366.42	372.02	342.56	358.06	405.14	315.07	352.65	312.61	356.54
Clothing & bedding	270.74	286.90	272.61	290.64	288.46	273.76	288.04	243.22	278.96
Toiletries	109.55	129.93	104.79	142.43	130.08	92.91	83.97	99.32	116.36
Footwear	58.88	68.54	52.02	74.52	63.99	47.06	59.05	51.49	60.24
Washing articles	50.78	54.70	41.79	60.31	50.95	50.13	38.66	35.21	48.68
Others	27.43	35.85	32.58	36.75	33.77	20.20	20.43	28.54	32.27
Sub-total	883.79	947.94	846.35	962.72	972.38	799.14	842.81	770.39	893.05
Total non-durables	5253.34	5622.75	5328.20	5725.02	5746.31	5136.90	4901.46	4629.74	5424.50
Durables									
House construction and repairs	263.29	278.90	253.82	304.92	287.92	205.54	227.37	242.89	265.91
TV/Radio/V.C.R and CD	38.38	55.27	38.06	40.53	37.80	35.26	32.40	34.00	41.61
Watches and clocks	31.64	42.78	34.26	41.60	35.96	28.55	24.59	30.20	36.21
Electric fan & coolers	51.21	45.73	42.56	48.74	50.85	33.00	41.54	44.31	45.01
Sewing machine	33.29	53.85	53.76	111.66	45.45	23.00	26.27	45.10	56.00
Furniture	66.61	81.15	75.19	87.30	86.54	65.15	72.42	69.50	77.66
Utensils	74.86	69.99	57.54	75.00	65.92	68.46	81.38	61.24	66.31
Car/Jeep	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Scooter/ motor cycle	53.47	62.68	45.52	48.70	45.80	15.22	12.09	46.72	47.40
Bicycle	48.60	52.82	49.43	57.24	56.57	51.24	39.14	41.90	51.23
Hand pump	133.27	181.18	153.07	202.23	189.81	126.95	125.06	151.87	165.19
Refrigerator	21.01	17.93	0.00	12.43	16.76	0.00	15.72	0.00	9.36
Washing machine	12.56	17.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.49	5.12
LPG connection	39.33	51.73	35.77	52.12	43.07	16.00	18.02	45.78	40.99
Fodder-cutter	22.11	27.94	22.71	26.65	21.80	24.36	14.44	25.20	24.09
Others	34.11	42.01	37.39	42.81	43.17	42.76	38.25	23.73	39.22
Sub-total	923.74	1081.28	899.08	1151.95	1027.41	735.50	768.67	872.93	971.30
Services									
Education	378.93	518.52	553.89	624.93	470.36	491.36	405.00	402.23	519.21
Health care	523.27	593.58	569.79	622.36	637.85	571.99	428.26	442.84	574.65
Conveyance	42.13	63.90	47.04	51.73	39.90	48.81	21.95	53.61	49.64
Telephone	54.68	64.45	53.31	63.87	59.88	49.15	42.21	43.21	56.82
Entertainment	87.26	73.66	65.23	78.52	70.07	55.57	42.76	51.76	69.00
Sub-total	1086.27	1314.11	1289.26	1441.42	1278.05	1216.88	940.17	993.65	1269.32
Socio-religious ceremonies									
Marriages & other social ceremonies	776.07	905.79	873.30	1035.73	917.83	699.90	455.16	587.59	862.04
Religious function	419.17	576.72	541.99	541.46	566.93	441.81	327.57	351.85	521.57
Sub-total	1195.24	1482.51	1415.28	1577.19	1484.77	1141.71	782.73	939.45	1383.61
Total	8458.59	9500.65	8931.83	9895.58	9536.54	8230.98	7393.03	7435.76	9048.73

Source : Computed From Table 1.

The average propensity to consume (apc) is the ratio of consumption to income. The information regarding the average propensity to consume of the sampled rural artisan households is placed in Table 4 which reveals that the average propensity to consume comes to be 1.06 for an average rural artisan household. It is observed from the table that it is the highest among basket-makers and potters (1.07 each), while it is the lowest among cobblers (1.03). From the analysis of the average propensity to consume among the sampled rural artisan households, it is observed that it is greater than one among the different categories of rural artisan households. They are incurring deficits and are taking loans either from institutional or non-institutional sources to maintain their minimum level of consumption expenditure. The analysis of average propensity to consume has an important implication that the rural artisans try to maintain a minimum level of living whether they cannot afford it.

Table-4
Average Propensity to Consume in respect of Rural Artisan Households

Categories	Average Consumption (Rs.)	Average Income (Rs.)	Average Propensity to Consume(apc)
Blacksmiths	45760.96	43951.43	1.04
Carpenters	44178.01	41973.40	1.05
Masons	44123.22	41512.15	1.06
Tailors	41858.29	39725.95	1.05
Barbers	44058.82	41598.26	1.06
Basket-Makers	44118.05	41072.32	1.07
Potters	47315.39	44133.30	1.07
Cobblers	43722.30	42486.66	1.03
All Sampled Households	43976.82	41605.25	1.06

Source : Field Survey, 2008-09.

The present study has concluded that the sampled rural artisan households are not enjoying a reasonable good standard of living.

For increasing the consumption level, the income of the sampled rural artisan households should be increased. In order to increase the income, the rural artisans should be encouraged to bring diversification in their products so that these products may compete in the modern market and cater to the taste of the present generation. The products of rural artisans should be

exhibited in craft and trade fairs to popularize their products. This will extend their reach in the market which is at present very limited. The rural artisans should also curb the tendency to indulge wasteful expenditure particularly on marriages and socio-religious ceremonies, intoxicants, drugs, etc. The rural artisans should also be encouraged to take up subsidiary occupations along with their traditional occupation to increase their income. The governmental policies should be tailored to reduce the debt burden on the rural artisans. Loans and advances should be provided at subsidized and low rate of interest. The availability of loans and subsidies should be made easy and hassle-free. Red-tapism is the biggest obstruction in the way of rural artisans taking advantage of governmental loans and subsidies. Therefore, the government must make earnest efforts to reach the rural artisans and make these loans and subsidies available at their doorsteps. The governmental institutions like co-operative societies, *Khadi* and *Gram Udyog*, District Industry Centre etc. should be directed to help the rural artisans to make their products on an extended scale to increase their income levels. The government should ensure easy availability of raw-materials at subsidized rates to reduce their cost of production and conversely increase profit margin. This would go a long way to increase the income levels of the rural artisans. The government should formulate new schemes and policies for the welfare and economic betterment of the rural artisan households.

Increased income levels of the rural artisan households will have a direct bearing on their social status. As their income levels will increase their social acceptance will also increase proportionately and the phenomenon of the younger generation of the sampled rural artisan households moving away from their traditional occupations will also come to an end.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN LUDHIANA (1951-1966)

*Pushpinder Kaur**

In 1947, at the time of Independence, Punjab had only a few hundred industrial units. Most of the manufactured items of even common use came from outside. During the post independence period, industrial development in Punjab took place in phases. Thus in the fifties, the cycle parts and hosiery industries took their roots, while in the sixties, with the advent of the green revolution, agriculture related industries like farm machinery manufacturing came-up. In the seventies and eighties, industries such as auto parts, electronic items and resource-based industries as food processing, vanaspati, edible and non-edible oils flourished in a big way. Diversification of industry started with the process of liberalization and economic reforms while many of the established processing units in small, medium and large sectors came under pressure. The industrial sector in the state was in the throes of a very significant phase of transition with severe challenges and many new opportunities.

Ludhiana city leads Punjab in industrialization. More than 28 per cent of the industrial output of Punjab comes from Ludhiana which has the highest number of large and medium units. In this paper I concentrate only on textile and hosiery industry in Ludhiana.

Ludhiana has been accepted as the home of hosiery industry. Hosiery industry in Ludhiana traces its origin to the thirties of the 19th century when, as a result of severe famine in Kashmir, several Kashmiri families left their homes in distress and settled down in Ludhiana.¹ With their traditional skill and artistic talent, they soon made the town a centre of knitting socks on wooden or steel roads. Thus they laid the foundation of a craft which initially ladies were doing in their spare time along with house-hold work. The first hosiery machine was installed in 1870's.² Products were supplied mainly to the Indian

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1. R.P. Misra, *Million cities of India*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 716; Sir W.R. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1816, p.375; D.R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times 1860-1939*, Delhi, 1971, p.34.
2. R.P. Misra, *op.cit.*, p. 716

army. The First World War (1914-18) provided a boost to hosiery industry. The manufacturers who had till then confined their attention to foot-wear alone, extended their activities to produce woollen sweaters and pullovers. Ludhiana knitters control almost all market within the country and cater to about 90 per cent of total demand.³ Within the country the industry meets the needs of both civil population and the requirement of the defence, police and other Government Departments. Thus it emerged as the home of Indian hosiery and was poised for a big leap forward. The introduction of Raschel loom⁴ from Germany brought about a radical change in the technique of production. It facilitated cheaper production on a mass scale.

During the depression following the First World War (1914-18) the industry passed through a period of crisis as the prices of hosiery goods fell by 25 to 30 per cent due to competition from Japan. The local hosiery manufacturers boldly faced this crisis by reducing the margin of profit and increasing their efficiency. The then government of India also afforded adequate protection to hosiery industry through the Tariff Amendment Act of 1934, against Japanese dumping, which was further amended in 1936 to cover all branches of the hosiery industry.

The British Government had stopped imports chiefly from Japan and the tremendous demand for hosiery goods by the Defence Department during the World War-II (1939-45) helped the industry towards unprecedented expansion.⁵ But the shortage of yarns and the scarcity of hosiery machine needles, for which the industry was dependent upon foreign supplies did not allow the manufacturers to take full advantage of the position. To overcome this difficulty, the yarns and needles were supplied by the purchasing agency of defence equipment. Despite all these circumstances the condition of the industry during the period was not satisfactory.⁶

After the partition of the country hosiery industry faced major set backs—shortage of foreign exchange, Chinese aggression in 1962, Indo-Pak conflict, credit squeeze, reorganization of Punjab, political agitations and severe recession through which all the industries were presently passing—the woollen hosiery industry of Ludhiana has made remarkable progress. With small hand driven machines installed in the dark corners of small houses in

3. *Director of Industries Punjab*, Chandigarh, 2000, p. 42.

4. A Type of Loom Coming from Germany.

5. *The Encyclopaedic District Gazetteers of India: Northern Zone* (Vol.4), New Delhi, 2000, p. 674.

6. R.P. Misra, *op. cit.*, p.717.

the obscure lanes of Ludhiana, the industry has been turning out production worth crores of rupees and catering to the needs of the entire country.

In 1966-67, there were 2,000 units in the industry with a total annual installed capacity of about Rs.25 crores and an actual production of Rs. 12 crore, almost equally divided under three broad sectors (i) Home Market (ii) Defence requirement and (iii) exports. The 200 units in the industry were not well equipped, not more than about 50 percent, i.e. 1000 units, could be termed as effective.⁷

The exports in 1966 were 4.55 crores of rupees and during 1967 these touched Rs. 5 crores. The major buyers were East European Markets. In 1968 industry achieved a target of 6 crores.⁸ The main market for the products of the industry were U.S.S.R, Chzechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Behrein, Burma, Kenya, Aden, Sudan, Libya, Hongkong, Zambia, Tanzania etc. The industry expected to touch the annual exports of at least Rs.8 crores in next three years.

In the third five- year plan period (1961-66) woolen textile, hosiery and wool spinning industries registered remarkable development. Side by side Government continued the policy of state-aid to India and allowed the import of essential machinery on the recommendation of the state government.

Quality Marking scheme was introduced for textile and hosiery goods with a view to create a special taste in the buyers to purchase only standard goods. To begin with in 1956, two separate centres were started at Ludhiana— (i) Quality Marking centre for hosiery goods and (ii) Quality marking centre for Dyeing and Printing. These were amalgamated in June 1964, under the name Quality centre for Textile Goods, Ludhiana.⁹

Among textiles, woolen hosiery is main industry of Ludhiana. This centre had got on list 298 firms and certifies the quality of hosiery goods produced by them for civil, export and defence supplies.¹⁰

Sample of approved qualities of various types hosiery goods, covered by the scheme, were kept in the custody of the centre, and specifications were

7. Report on District Industrial Department, Ludhiana, 1966-67, p. 211.

8. *Ibid.*

9. "The sphere and scope of quality Marking already existing in Ludhiana, will be expanded and rupees two lakhs will be spent in the Fourth plan period." A Report on Punjab Revenue Department, Chandigarh, 1966, p. 152.

10. During the year 1965-66, goods both textile and hosiery, worth Rs.1,12,06,410 were quality marked by this centre. The important hosiery are gents slipover, pullovers, cardigans, jersies, gents and ladies and children sweaters, A Report on Punjab Revenue Department, Chandigarh, 1966, pp. 14-15.

laid down for such products.

Punjab Government had in consultation with the Department of International trade, Government of India, undertook inspection/certification of goods meant for export from the state, through the agency of Quality Marking Centre set up for various types of Industries. As a result of the activities of the Quality Marking Centres and the technical assistance rendered to the industrialists the quality of the products had considerably improved and the products were being gradually standardized.

The Government had established Government Textile and Hosiery Finishing Plant located in the fort premises at Ludhiana. This plant was established under the Common Facility Service Scheme in 1960-61 to meet the long-standing demand of local textile industry for technical assistance in bleaching, dyeing and finishing of textile and hosiery goods for which small scale units could not afford necessary facilities. Up to June, 14, 1964, it remained attached to the Government Institute of Dyeing, Printing and Hosiery Technology, Ludhiana.¹¹ The plant was separated from the institute in February, 1965. It provided facilities to all small units which were neither able to install such heavy plants for getting their product processed, nor were able to get their goods finished from far off places like Amritsar at exorbitant charges.

Demonstrations were given to hosiery/textile industrialists to make them understand the modern techniques in dyeing, bleaching and finishing of textile goods. Besides, textile factories were visited and their owners were advised to improve the quality of goods on modern scientific lines.

Besides the industrial development in the Ludhiana city, an important item in the Third- Five- Year Plan (1961-66) was the development of cottage and village industries. It was also envisaged to have a Rural Industrial Estate in each of the Community Development Blocks. At present there are two Rural Industrial Estates, one at Utalan in Samrala Block and the other at Ramgarh Sardaran in Dehlon Block. The former has 12 sheds while the latter has eight sheds.¹²

In 1947, with the partition of India, large scale riots and consequent to out and in migration of millions of refugees, the economic activities in Punjab experienced a major dislocation. But within a few years after this shattering experience, the state was not only able to rehabilitate its economy but also to emerge as the richest state of India.

11. A Report on Punjab Revenue Department, Chandigarh, 1966, p. 40.

12. *The Encyclopaedic District Gazetteers of India: Northern Zone* (Vol.4), New Delhi, 2000, p. 675.

Owing to partition in 1947, the entire economic structure of the district had undergone a change, displaced persons had replaced Mohammedans. Drastic changes had taken place in the food, dress and habits of the villagers. The villages had been linked with towns by motorable roads. Almost all the amenities of urban areas were being increasingly brought within the reach of ruralities. Literacy was increasing in villages and almost all children of school going age were being admitted in schools. As a result of rapid industrialization of Ludhiana, both skilled and unskilled labour was shifting to the city, with the consequence that considerable shortage of skilled labour in villages was expected.

According to 1961 Census, rural population in the district numbered 707,776 as compared to 602,218 in 1951. Since 1961 there had been increase in population in cities to the extent of 314,745 as compared to 205,887 in 1951. While favourable factors, such as continued absence of any epidemic, better health facilities and social security had been responsible for steady increase of population in rural areas, rapid industrialisation of Ludhiana had been the main reason for the remarkable increase of population in urban areas. This was also due to the general tendency of landless labourers to shift to towns from villages in order to avail themselves of better employment opportunities.

The industrial labour in the city was mostly drawn from the local population or from the neighbouring villages. They lived in all localities including slum areas and industrial colonies. Besides a good number returned to the neighbouring villages. The industrial expansion had provided an incentive to the agricultural labour to switch over to industry.

The Industrial Training Institute, Institute of Textile Chemistry and Knitting Technology, and industrial schools now increasingly meet the demand for skilled labour and thereby greatly help the development of industries.

First Hosiery Workers' Union, Ludhiana was established in February 21, 1952. From 1952 to 1966 there were 20 registered industrial workers' unions in Ludhiana.¹³

The industry also depended a lot on migratory labour. The migratory labour was coming from Bihar, U.P., Nepal, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana. These families had migrated due to better job opportunities and higher wages. Thousands of families had reached the state from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and other states alongwith their children.¹⁴

13. *Labour Commissioner, Punjab*, Chandigarh, 1966, p. 305.

14. Pratibha Goyal, *Little Hands that work*, Ludhiana, 2004, p. 61.

More than 50 per cent of child labour in the hosiery industry of Ludhiana belonged to families below the poverty line.¹⁵ The study shows that majority (47.44 per cent) of the children belonged to the age group of 12-14 years. About 37 per cent belong to the age group of 10-12 and 15.33 per cent belong to the age group of 8-10 years. 48.17 per cent of the children started working and supplementing their family income at the age of 8-10 years.

Most of the children, worked in congested and crowded places, which affected them physically and psychologically. They were exposed to different types of pollutants like fibers, dyes, wool and cotton fluff, which had an adverse effect on their health. 31.11% of the children reported that they were ill treated by their employers. They were also exploited by the parents for short gains, the parents usually secured loans from employers and surrendered their children as security. About 11 per cent children did not get one day weekly rest while 89.05 per cent children were getting one-day weekly rest.¹⁶

In the European countries Indian goods were being criticized due to child labour involved in producing them. Most of the countries refused to take their products made by children.

In order to assess the economic condition of the people, the comparative study of prices and wages was vitally important. Besides, variations in the prices of silver and gold, rise in population, condition of production, inflation, exports and imports also played an important part. Change of season, rainfall and other physical factors also caused temporary fluctuation in the prices. From the beginning of the 20th century there had been a radical change in the purchasing power of the rupee. Even though detailed statistics are not available, it was strangely true that the prices of land during the first two decades of the 20th century had risen more than the wages of labour and wages of labour had risen more than the cost of production. However, the World War-I (1914-18) had a salutary effect on all sections of Indian society. The labourer was comparatively the gainer as his wages rose more rapidly than the cost of production. Then followed a general depression of the twenties. It brought in its wake slumps in the market and unemployment and downward trends in the prices of agricultural produce.

On the outbreak of World War II, in September, 1939, the people in the district were also affected by this catastrophe. The prices of all goods rose high on account of scarcity conditions created by the War. Wages also increased

15. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

and had shown a continued rise since then. Even after partition (1947) the trend of rise in wages and prices could not be checked and continued rising. This trend was not much perceptible during the First and the Second Five-Year Plans. From the middle of Third Five-Year Plan, the price index had shown a steep and unprecedented rise in the prices without any corresponding rise in wages. The development had become a cause of considerable hardship to the labour class.

The wages for various workers in rural areas were paid either in cash or in kind or both. A casual labourer was usually paid in cash, whereas the smith, the carpenter, the water carrier (*jhewir*) or the potter was usually paid in kind. Domestic servants in urban and rural areas were paid partly in cash and partly in kind. However, the practice of payment of wages in kind was on the wane and people preferred to pay and receive wages in cash.

The inhabitants of the district were mainly dependent on agriculture. Ludhiana was also one of the highly industrialized cities in the State. With rapid industrialization, the need for technical and non-technical personnel had increased considerably. This, of course, had led to the increase in the temptation among the labour class of the neighbouring villages who could not resist to migrate to this city in order to earn their livelihood due to the fact that there were definitely better economic opportunities available here. So much so, many of the *Bhaiyas* from Uttar Pradesh have also concentrated in this city and are generally engaged in unskilled jobs.

The fast growth of the economy led to a rapid increase in per capita income and in living standard of population. Thus during next twenty years (1966-67 to 1989-90) the Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) grew at the rate of 5.13 per cent per Annum compared with a growth of 4.23 per cent for the country as a whole.¹⁷ Per capita income in the Punjab rose at 2.93 per cent annually as compared with 1.87 per cent for India. Consequently at constant 1970-71 prices, while per capita income in the Punjab rose from 801 in 1960-61 to Rs.1927 in 1989-90, the national per capita income during this period rose from Rs. 559 to 1,104. The Secondary and tertiary sector recorded much higher growth rates than agriculture and primary sector.

During the period from 1967-68 to 1989-90, while the primary sector grew at annual rate of 4.18 percent, the secondary and tertiary sectors recorded growth rates of 6.92 percent and 5.98percent per annum respectively. Due to

17. G.S. Bhalla "Political Economy Since Independence," in Indu Bunga (ed.), *Five Punjabi Centuries*, Delhi, 1997, p.375.

differential growth rates in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, noticeable changes had taken place in the share of these three sectors in the NSPD.¹⁸ For example at constant 1970-71 prices, the share of the primary sector declined from about 60 per cent of the state income in 1960-61 and 1967-68 to 49.97 per cent in 1989-90. As compared with this, primary sector accounted for only 35.3 per cent of the national product in India in 1989-90. On the other hand the contribution of secondary and tertiary sectors to net national income during 1989-90 was 25.50 per cent and 39.30 per cent respectively. For the Punjab, the respective shares were only 22.65 and 28.49 per cent of NSDP.¹⁹

Despite the disruption in its economy due to large migration and riots after the partition of India in 1947, the Punjab began to show a high rate of growth in agriculture from the inception of planning in 1950-51. Therefore the Punjab was able to record a high agriculture growth rate of 4.6 per cent during 1950-65 long before the onset of green revolution.²⁰

The agrarian structure and land relations in Punjab had undergone far reaching changes in post-independence period primarily because of two main developments: land reforms implemented soon after independence and rapid changes in the technology of production in agriculture particularly after the introduction of new Borlaug seed fertilizer technology during the mid 1960s. Thus agrarian structure was transformed due to the interaction between technological and institutional factors. The existing interaction had tended to favour the vested interest who had tried to consolidate their dominance in the land market but the technological development had acted as road roller and completely demolishing many old structures.²¹

In the last we can say that agricultural transformation in the Punjab in the mid 1960's triggered the process of industrial growth and vice versa. The rapid growth increased per capita income and consumption, so there was a spurt growth in many consumer goods industries, some of the well established industries like bicycle industry, sewing machine, hosiery and textiles and wool industry found a buoyant demand not only in the Punjab but also in the rest of India and abroad.²²

18. *The statistical Abstract of Punjab (1960-61, 1967-68, 1980-81, 1989-90)*, Chandigarh.

19. G.S. Bhalla, *op.cit.*, p.376.

20. *Ibid.*, p.377.

21. G.K. Chadha, *The state and Rural Economic Transformation : The case of Punjab 1984-85*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 94.

22. G.S. Bhalla, *op.cit.*, p. 390.

Despite these achievements, many critics point out that the Punjab's achievement in industrialization falls considerably short of expectations. There can be several reasons for the process of slow industrial and overall transformation of the economy despite rapid growth. The first is import leakages—the Punjab's economy is linked with the rest of the country. This has enabled the state to derive a great deal of comparative advantage through specialization in some manufacturing lines. But the regional distribution of manufacturing capacities, particularly in agro-processing and agro-input industries, often does not conform with the present patterns of agricultural output, and due to the extra ordinary increase in output in many cases, the existing processing capacities fall far short of requirement.²³

The other reason is outflow of large financial resources from the state. In spite of much greater import of raw materials and consumption goods, the Punjab has become a highly export surplus economy. The large flow of funds from the Punjab has evidently been invested in the rest of India since the state became surplus in agricultural productions. Therefore, many agricultural labourers have migrated to the Punjab from Bihar and other less developed states of the country.

The resource oriented industries could not be established on as large a scale as in other states in the absence of raw materials, both mineral based and agricultural based. Moreover, the cottage industries could do very well, be the precursors of mechanised agricultural processing, and small scale industries to those of large scale manufacturing units under the innovational ability which has already proved up to the mark.²⁴ Furthermore, structural change within the small and medium scale industries is taking place in favour of engineering and other producer and investment goods relative to consumption goods, in favour of exports-earning and import saving goods as against those for domestic consumption and in favour of modern industries in general as against traditional ones. All these changes are indicators of the rapid potential economic growth in Punjab.

23. G.K. Chadha, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

24. G.S. Sahota, "Industrial Development", in S.B. Rangnekar (ed.), *The Growth of Punjab Economy*, Chandigarh, 1960, p. 9.

THE DARK CORNERS OF PATIALA : A STUDY OF SLUM AREAS

Rashmi & Gurinder Kaur***

The world is undergoing the largest wave of urbanisation and so is the case with India where the urban population was only 23.34 per cent of the total population in 1981, which has increased to 27.78 per cent in 2001 and 31.16 per cent in 2011. This rapidly increasing urban population finds it difficult to settle down in the cities as these are expanding in size and not in the conformity of rising population. The big centres especially, the Class I and metropolitan cities are facing the huge pressure of population not only on their land resources but also on their basic services and amenities which are getting crushed under the burden of ever increasing urban population.

Urbanisation when accompanied with steady population growth due to rural to urban migration leads to the mushrooming of slums in cities and towns. Around the world over one billion residents live in inadequate houses, mostly in slums and squatter settlements. Slummification is a natural process of urban development.¹ The occupancy in low paying informal sector and lack of basic amenities leads to precarious living conditions contributing to low levels of human development.

To a large extent, urban poverty is a spillover of rural poverty.² The

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1. Sundari, S., "Quality of life of Migrant Households in Urban Slums", in Martin J. Bunch, V. Madha Suresh and T. Vasantha Kumaran (eds.), *Proceedings of Third International Conference on Environment and Health*, Chennai, India, 15-17 December 2003, Chennai: Department of Geography, University of Madras and Faculty of Environment Studies, York University, p.4; Chandra, S., "Take Care of the Basics First", *The Hindu*, 20 September, 2009.
2. Desai, V., *Migration and Labour Characteristics*, in Sandhu, Ranvinder Singh (ed.), *Urbanization in India: Sociological Contributions, Themes in Indian Sociology*, Vol.2, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003, p.208; Duggal, B., "The Slums of Panchkula", *Social Change*, 2004, 34 (4), p. 38; Banerji, M., *Provision of Basic Services in the Slums and Resettlement Colonies of Delhi*, 2009, retrieved from <http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/>

locus of poverty is moving to cities, a process now recognized as the 'urbanisation of poverty'.³

Punjab, the fifth most urbanised state of India⁴ having an urban population (33.95 per cent) is witnessing a similar trend of highly urbanised states of the country as its cities with more than one million population are expanding at a fast rate. These cities tend to grow physically and demographically without developing genuine resources to build indispensable infrastructure and services for their people⁵ and most of the people fail to get adequate housing and start living in slums.

Slums have been defined as mainly those residential areas where dwellings are in any respect unfit for human habitation, by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangements of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors are detrimental to safety, health and morals.⁶

Table 1 shows that during 2001, 14.03 per cent of the urban population of Punjab was living in slums. The highest proportion of slum population was in Abohar city (35.28 per cent) while the lowest was observed in Phagwara city (1.63 per cent).

Patiala, one of the most urbanised cities of Punjab is facing a grave threat to its urban environment as numbers of slums are popping up in the various parts of the city. It is worth notable that every fifth person in Patiala city is living in slums. As many as 22.21 per cent of the population of the city is having a slum residence which is quite alarming and demands a comprehensive study.

3. UN Habitat, *21st Session of Governing Council*, Nairobi, Kenya, 2007, p.3.

4. Census of India 2001, *General Population Tables*, Office of Registrar General and Census Commission, New Delhi, India, p.30.

5. Goel, S.L. & Dhaliwal, S.S., *Slum Improvement Through Participatory Urban Based Community Structures*, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p.3.

6. Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956 as cited in *Slum Population, Series-1* (2005), Census of India, Office of Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, New Delhi, p.2.

Table - 1
Total Urban and Slum Population in Class I
Cities of Punjab, 2001

Name of State/ City	Total Urban Population*	Slum Population	Proportion of Slum Population to Total Urban Population
Punjab	8262511	1159561	14.03
Pathankot	157925	15663	9.91
Batala	125677	33604	26.74
Amritsar	966862	229603	23.75
Phagwara	102253	1676	1.63
Jalandhar	706043	134840	19.09
Ludhiana	1398467	314904	22.52
Khanna	103099	16299	15.80
Moga	125573	33242	26.47
Abohar	124339	43863	35.28
Bathinda	217256	40602	18.69
Malerkotla	107009	20401	19.06
Patiala	303151	67411	22.21
Hoshiarpur	149668	8370	5.59

Source : Primary Census Abstract of Punjab for Slum and Total Urban Areas, 2001, pp. 65-73.

The main objectives of the present study are:

1. to study the migration aspect among the slum dwellers of Patiala;
2. to assess the demographic characteristics of the slum dwellers;
3. to analyse the socio – economic aspects of the slum dwellers and
4. to examine the quality of life of the slum dwellers.

A slum *basti* was picked up at random in the city and a questionnaire was administered to the slum dwellers. In the field study, 32 households were surveyed comprising of 184 persons. Simple statistical tools have been used for the analysis of data.

The emergence of slums on cities' landscape is an outcome of haphazard and unregulated growth of population. The skyrocketing land rates, high rents, huge charges on basic amenities etc., make it difficult for poor migrants to secure a decent living in the urban areas and they finally have to

* Total urban population of Punjab includes urban population of Class I Cities which has not been reported slums.

settle down in the slums. The field survey revealed that out of 32 households, 25 households reported themselves to be migrants from the other states and the remaining heads of 7 households were born in Patiala, but their parents had migrated to Patiala long time ago. Table 2 shows that a large majority of these migrants have rural background and only 28 per cent have urban background.

The movement of people from their place of origin to destination is the outcome of several reasons. Poor economic conditions at the place of origin emerged as the major reason of the movement of the slum dwellers. As many as 72 per cent respondents have reported poverty, 24 per cent gave inadequate employment opportunities and low wages and 4 per cent gave lack of amenities at their respective native places as the reasons behind the migration. The field survey revealed that abject poverty, drought and water scarcity forced the migrants from Rajasthan to leave their abodes, while the lure of better employment opportunities and availability of good quality of life in Punjab played as the main driving force behind the movement of the migrants from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Table - 2
Characteristics of Migrants

Characteristics	Percentage of Households
Last Place of Residence	
a. Within the State	21.87
Rural	0.00
Urban	21.87
b. Outside the State	78.13
Rural	72.00
Urban	28.00
Reason for Migration	
Poverty	72.00
Inadequate Employment Opportunities and Low Wages	24.00
Lack of Amenities	4.00
Duration of Migration (in years)	
Less than 2	4.00
2-4	0.00
5-7	12.00
8-10	4.00
More than 10	80.00

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Type of Migration	
Temporary	12.00
Permanent	88.00
Frequency of Visit to Native Places (in no. of times)	
1	50.00
2	21.90
3	6.20
4	3.10
5	0.00
Above 5	3.10
Migrants not Visited	15.70
Willingness of Migrants to Return to Native Places	
Willing to Return	25.00
Not Decided	6.20
Not Willing	68.80
Reason for Returning Back	
To Look After Property	87.50
Difficult to Maintain in the City and Attachment with Native Place	12.50

Source: Field Survey, 2010.

Four-fifths of the migrant households have been staying in Patiala city for last 30-35 years. The stay of 5-7 years in the city is reported by 12 per cent of the households, whereas 4 per cent households have been living in the city for last 8-10 years, another 4 per cent reported the duration of their stay is less than 2 years. As many as 88 per cent households are permanent migrants while 12 per cent reported seasonal migration. The field survey brought out that seasonal migrants are mainly from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The attachment or ties with the native place drives migrants from place of destination to origin at least once in a year. About half of the migrant households visit their native place once in a year, 21.90 per cent households visit twice a year, 6.20 per cent thrice a year and another 6.20 per cent visit their place of origin 4 to 5 times in a year. It is noted that 15.70 per cent households have never visited their place of origin after their migration. The study brings out the fact that 68.80 per cent of the migrant households are not willing to return to their place of origin and the field survey revealed that among them majority belongs to Rajasthan. Only 25 per cent migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar want to return to their native places while 6.20 per cent households have not decided yet. A large majority (87.50 per cent) of the migrants, who are willing

to return cited property at native places as the reason of return and 12.50 per cent respondents have found high cost of living in the city making it difficult for them to make both ends meet.

The total population in the surveyed slum basti is 184 persons, among them 51.09 per cent are females and 48.91 per cent are males. The sex ratio among them is 1044 females per thousand males. It shows that slum dwellers are not biased towards girl child. However, fluctuating trends are observed in the general sex composition in different age groups (Table 3). Good child sex ratio is observed in the age groups of 0-1 and 1-4 years. The age group of 15-24 also shows high sex ratio. In the age groups of 25-34 years and 60+ years the total number of females and males is same. While low sex ratio in the age groups of 5-9 and 10-14 years indicates towards the presence of female mortality. Low sex ratio in the age group of 35-59 years is worth notable which is due to the high maternal mortality rate. In terms of marital status, females outnumber the males in the slum *basti* as 35 females and 33 males reported to be married. Only 1 female reported to be a divorcee and 3 female and 1 male person live the life of widowhood.

Table - 3
Distribution of Population by Age Group, Sex Composition
and Marital Status

Age Groups (in years)	Males	Females	Sex Ratio
0-1	2	3	1500
1-4	6	18	3000
5-9	17	12	706
10-14	17	12	706
15-24	19	22	1158
25-34	12	12	1000
35-59	15	13	867
60+	2	2	1000
Total	90	94	1044
Marital Status	Total Population		
Unmarried	1	3	4
Married	33	35	68
Widowed	1	3	4
Divorced	-	1	1
Total	35	42	77

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The religious composition of households in the slum *basti* shows that among the surveyed households, 62.50 per cent are the Muslims, 34.37 per cent are the Hindus and 3.12 per cent are the Sikhs (Table 4). The dominance of the Muslims in the surveyed slum *basti* can be attributed to the fact that the Rajasthani migrants residing in the slum belong to the Islam religion.

Table - 4
Distribution of Population by Religion

Religion	Percentage of Households
Hindu	34.37
Islam	62.50
Sikh	3.12

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The overall literacy rate among the total households surveyed in the slum *basti* is 36.62 per cent (Table 5). The male literacy rate is 43.83 per cent which is higher than the female literacy rate of 28.98 per cent. The differences in the literacy rates among males and females are because of socio-cultural differences between the slum dwellers.

The field survey revealed that Rajasthani migrants do not give importance to education, especially female education, but migrants from Bihar/ Uttar Pradesh send their children to school. The literacy level of migrants from Bihar/ Uttar Pradesh is better than that of Rajasthani migrants. Most of the slum dwellers are educated up to the middle school, while the number of literate migrants decreased with the increase in the education level. Out of the total population, only 37 children attend schools. Among them there are 23 boys and 14 girls and the majority of the children attend government schools. The field survey revealed that as many as 12 children go to a school run by a charitable trust which provides free meals, books and stationary etc. and 4 children of Bihar/ Uttar Pradesh migrants are studying in private schools and 2 girls of these migrants are studying in government aided schools.

In spite of the fact that the overall sex ratio among the slum dwellers is higher than the general population of Punjab, the migrant slum dwellers are having a biased attitude for girls in respect of their education.

Table - 5
Distribution of Population by Literacy Level

Level of Education	Males	Females	Total
Literacy Rate	43.83	28.98	36.62
Illiterate	10	12	22
Literate	32	20	52
Primary	16	11	27
Middle	8	4	12
Matriculate	4	2	6
Senior Secondary	3	1	4
Graduation	0	1	1
Post Graduation	0	1	1
Technical Professionals	1	0	1
Type of School and Number of Children Going to School			
Anganwadi	3	1	4
Govt. School	9	6	15
Govt. Aided School	0	2	2
Private	3	1	4
Others	8	4	12
Total	23	14	37

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The occupational structure of the slum dwellers is categorized under three categories i.e. skilled labour, unskilled labour and other professions. The low literacy level among slum dwellers and lack of any kind of training has made them work in the low paid jobs. Mostly heads of the families especially men are employed in work. Table 6 shows that 89.19 per cent of males and 10.81 per cent of females in these slums are working. The field survey brought out that only women from Bihar/Uttar Pradesh are engaged in work whereas Rajasthani women stay at home. The Rajasthani male migrants are employed in ferry trade whereas men from Bihar/ Uttar Pradesh work in skilled and unskilled occupations as the migrants are ill-equipped in terms of education and training for employment often manage to get only odd jobs in the informal sector of the urban economy and the informal sector is the dominant livelihood source among slums.⁷

7. Singh, K., *Internal Migration in a Developing Economy*, National Book Organisation, Delhi, 1991, p. 144; UN Habitat, *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements*, Nairobi, Kenya, 2003, p.xxvi.

Table - 6
Occupational Structure

Type of Profession	Males		Females		Total	
	Num-ber	Percent-age	Num-ber	Percent-age	Num-ber	Percent-age
Unskilled Labour	2	6.06	2	50.00	4	10.81
Skilled Labour	10	30.30	1	25.00	11	29.73
Other Profession	21	63.64	1	25.00	22	59.46
Total	33	89.19	4	10.81	37	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2010

As many as 48.65 per cent of slum dweller workers are working at the distance of 2 to 5 kms, whereas 27.03 per cent beyond 5 kms and only 24.31 per cent work at a place which is located in the vicinity of their houses (Table 7).

Table - 7
Distance of Work Place and Average Monthly Income

Distance from the Household	Percentage of Workers
Less than 0.5 kms	10.81
0.5- 1.0 kms	5.40
1.0 - 2.0 kms	8.11
2.0 -5.0 kms	48.65
More than 5.0 kms	27.03
Distribution of Households by Average Monthly Income	
Income (Rs.)	Percentage of Households
Less than 1500	9.37
1500 – 3000	18.76
3000 - 4500	31.25
4500 – 6000	25.00
6000 – 7500	6.25
More than 7500	9.37

Source: Field Survey, 2010

The table presents a gloomy picture of economic conditions in the slum *basti* where the people have low income and low means to eke out their living but the cost of living in cities is very high. As many as 9.37 per cent households reported that their average monthly income is less than Rs.1500, 18.76 per cent households reported income between Rs. 1500- 3000, 31.25 per cent households have income between Rs. 3000-4500, 25 per cent have

between Rs. 4500-6000, 6.25 per cent between Rs. 6000-7500 and 9.37 per cent households have more than Rs.7500. The analysis clearly brings out that slightly less than 60 per cent slum dwellers have average monthly income upto Rs. 4500 which is not in any way sufficient to meet the bare basic necessities of life.

The various aspects of household amenities help to access the quality of life of the slum dwellers (Table 8). The slum dwellers usually have *kucha* or semi *pucca* structures and the field survey shows that 65.63 per cent of households have *kucha* structures, while 25 per cent have *pucca* and 9.37 per cent have semi - *pucca* structure in the slum *basti*. As many as 62.50 per cent of the households have non motorable *kucha* road in the front of their houses and only 37.50 per cent have direct accessibility to motorable *pucca* roads. Out of the sampled 32 households majority have electricity connection and only 6.25 per cent houses are without electricity. As far as the use of cooking fuel is concerned, the majority is dependent on firewood, 15.63 per cent are using gas and 9.37 per cent households use kerosene as a cooking fuel.

Among the slum dwellers own tap facility in the premises is enjoyed only by 25 per cent households and 75 per cent use public tap for drinking water and performing other domestic chores. In the slum *basti* major chunk of the population uses shared toilets and only 9.37 per cent households have a toilet on their own premises. In case of non-availability of bathrooms, the majority uses shared bathrooms. The mode of treatment assessed by the slum dwellers depicts that 50 per cent households visit private clinic so called R.M.Ps for their treatment, whereas only 3.12 per cent depend on government hospitals while 46.88 per cent households have reported that they use both private and public health services. Overall, the quality of life in the slum *basti* is of poor standard as these people have very poor access to basic services that should be available to all the city inhabitants.

In the present times even the poorest of the poor also possess some consumer durables and so is the case with the slum *basti* dwellers. It is found that 78.12 per cent households have electric fans and 71.87 per cent have colour televisions. It emerged from the survey that slum dwellers give undue importance to colour television and for that they sacrifice their basic necessities like bicycles, basic furniture, gas and so forth.

Table - 8
Distribution of Households by Housing Amenities

Housing Amenities	Percentage of Households
Type of Material Used for Roof	
<i>Kucha</i>	65.63
<i>Pucca</i>	34.37
Type of Material Used for Flooring	
<i>Kucha</i>	75.00
<i>Pucca</i>	25.00
Type of Structure	
<i>Kucha</i>	65.63
<i>Pucca</i>	25.00
<i>Semi- Pucca</i>	9.37
Type of Road in Front of the House	
Motorable <i>Pucca</i>	37.50
Motorable <i>Kucha</i>	0.00
Non- Motorable <i>Pucca</i>	0.00
Non- Motorable <i>Kucha</i>	62.50
Electricity Connection	
Yes	93.75
No	6.25
Type of Fuel Used	
Gas	15.63
Kerosene	9.37
Firewood	75.00
Source of Drinking Water	
Tap	25.00
Public Tap	75.00
Toilet Facility	
Owned	9.37
Shared	90.63
Bathroom Facility	
Within Premises	15.63
Outside Premises	3.12
Shared	81.25

Contd...

Agency of Treatment	
Private	50.00
Government	3.12
Both	46.88
Consumer Durables	
Electric Fan	78.12
Refrigerator	9.37
Cooler	3.12
Residential Phone	3.12
Mobile	43.75
Black and White Television	0.00
Colour Television	71.87
Sewing Machine	12.50
Furniture	9.37
Bicycle	28.12
Rickshaw	6.25
Scooter	6.25

Source: Field Survey, 2010

As many as 43.75 per cent of the slum households have mobile phones and 9.37 per cent households have some kind of furniture, another 9.37 per cent have refrigerators and 12.50 per cent have sewing machines. The availability of means of transport shows that 28.12 per cent households have bicycles and only 6.25 per cent have scooter and another 6.25 per cent have rickshaw.

The present study concludes that slums are the most unhygienic place to live in as there is a total absence of almost all kinds of basic amenities. The study of the profile of migrants from different cultural and regional backgrounds living in the slums helps to understand the variations present in their life style. It shows that Rajasthani migrants even though migrated long times ago are still stuck to the values and traditions of their place of origin and the status of females is very low. On the other hand, migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have changed themselves according to the environment of the city. They are educated, women also go out for work and these factors have given boost to their living status which is better than the living standard of the Rajasthani migrants. Another striking fact is that although the sex ratio in the slum *basti* is positive yet the literacy level of women is very low. The women are living a poignant life. There is need of more intensive investigation

as the slums are a blot on the face of cities. These migrants serve as the drivers of the development process in cities, so their rehabilitation and improvement in their living conditions is quite necessary.

The vision of slum free India envisaged by our country can only be fulfilled when their rehabilitation and improvement programmes can be implemented effectively. They should be provided a good quality education by sending their children to schools where they get free education and adult education programmes should also operate in the slums. Some vocational courses and workshops should also run in these slums so that unskilled people acquire some kind of skill. By acquiring skills they can earn good amount of money for their livelihood. The central, state and local government, N.G.Os etc. should also help in making low cost houses for slum dwellers where basic amenities like clean drinking water, sanitation facilities etc. should be made available so that slum inhabitants can live a good civic life. The government, N.G.Os and general public should work in the direction for the upliftment of slum population. The most important step is to create awareness regarding good civic life and education among them and this is the only solution for these frowzy slums to see the light of improvement.

BOOK-REVIEWS

BOOK-REVIEW-I

***Historiography, Concepts and Methods*, by Dr. Shiv Gajrani,
Published by Madaan Publishing House, Opp. Punjabi University,
Patiala.**

Dedicated to Late Mrs. Kavita Gajrani, Pages : 479 + 31

Price : Rs.350/- (Paperback), Rs.550/- (Hardback)

It is undoubtedly an excellent and scholarly work on the subject of historiography, concepts and methods in Punjabi language. To the best of my knowledge, it is the first but most reliable and authentic work on the subject by renowned author Dr. Shiv Gajrani. There are in all 24 chapters in this book. It deals with the meaning of history, definition, scope, classification, nature and importance of history. History is a science of art; relation of history with other disciplines; causation in history and determinism; historicism and relativism; historical objectivity and subjectivity; bias in history; historical evidences and their transmission; Greeco-Roman tradition of history writing; Chinese tradition of historiography, ancient Indian traditions of historiography; medieval tradition of historiography; modern historiography; positivists, whigs, marxist and annals; significant theories of history; various approaches of history; themes in Indian history-Part-I; economics, peasant and labour; Verna, Jati, Tribe and gender system; themes in Indian history, religion and culture, art and literature, environment, science and technology, historical research and data collection, selecting of subject and bibliography; notes and footnotes, maps, appendix; problem of authenticity and credibility and synthesis of facts are the major subjects which have been explored, thoroughly examined and discussed at length but critically. I in person and on behalf of few of my teacher fellows congratulate the author Dr. Gajrani for his understanding the subject and then writing the book in the mother tongue i.e. Punjabi for the benefit of teachers as well as the students. I think he is the first writer/author who has not only realised the need and importance of the subject, instead he has given due importance to its language which must be within the reach of students of all categories. His command over the Punjabi language is complete; he has used very simple words, construction of sentences and formation of concepts, ideas and even method is very simple as well as impressive. It may be admitted

that after E.H. Car, Dr. Gajrani is the man who understands the subject and also the need of the students and teachers. He has explained everything in details as well as in the manner required.

Another beauty of the work is that Dr. Gajrani has gone through, consulted almost all the important works and writings of nearly all the towering historians of Europe, Asia, East, Middle East, South and South East countries. The author of the present book has given his own independent views regarding the various subjects on which he has written. He has challenged several existing views of various established scholars. The definitions of history are really selective, its scope and utility, its relation with other subjects are given in exhaustive manner and written in analytic manner.

Historiography of ancient, medieval and modern periods had been written at length substantiated with evidences and logic. Causation, moral judgement in history, bias, objectivity and subjectivity are some other characteristics of the present work which have been thoroughly and analytically discussed at length. Thus in Indian History—Religion, Culture, Art, Literature, Communalism, Environment, Technology, Historical Research and Data Collecting, Selecting of subjects, synthesis of footnotes and facts, utility of maps, appendices and their importance, issue of authenticity and credibility as well as bibliography are other features of present work which have been minutely and analytically discussed by the author in this book. It is true that this book will meet the needs of the students and teachers. It would have been more useful if the author had given a bibliography or list of source material which he has consulted and used. But the questions and their answers given after each and every chapter make this work more useful and advantageous. I suggest that the second edition of this book must contain bibliography as well as its language should be made more simpler and easy, keeping in mind the students' requirements.

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BOOK-REVIEW-II

***Prachintam Bharat Ko Jaat / Jat Ki Dain,*
by Krishan Chander Dahiya, Self Published by the Author,
Dedicated to Author's Parents—Soma Dei and
Late Choudhary Chander Singh, Pages : 544.**

The author, Choudhary Krishan Chander Dahiya, is a R/o. Vill. Matindu, Near Kharkhoda, District Sonapat (Haryana). The author wrote one book entitled "*Jat-Iran, Sumer and Indus Civilization*" in English and got it published. This book was sold like a hot cake within a brief span of three months. Because this book was in English, therefore it was purchased only by the elite Jats. The author was suggested by some of the prominent elite Jats to write this book in Hindi- the mother tongue. The author could realize the importance of this suggestion and he wrote chapter-wise and in a revised manner the present volume on the *Prachintam Bharat Ko Jaat/Jat Ki Dain*.

To me the author seems quite touchy and he is clearly aware about the origin of the *Jaats/Jats*. Though several prominent persons have gone through this book and given their own opinions regarding its worth and value. I have no right to comment on his scholarship, but his interest in writing on the subject is really very great and impressive. The author has substantiated his thesis that *Jaats* were an ancient race predating the Vedic period and being the ones who were to be credited of starting the forming culture of a settled community of a matriarchal society and of having commingled with Dravidian people who were basically traders, as another component of their society which even predated Harappans society and they finally became a significant component of Indus Civilization and yet maintaining till day the basic trades of their character.

Mr. Dahiya has invested and expending tremendous intellectual energy in researching the vast archaeological data involving extensive reading. From academic point of view, the present work under review could have obtained a Doctorate degree to the author. No doubt, it is an authenticated document. The historical facts given in it have been proved with scientific manner. Mr. Dahiya worked hard to secure all other historical proofs. The linguistic proofs are being analyzed scientifically from 'Summer to Present Time'. His is

a special contribution, besides and reaching the contents of history of *Jaats* motivational and inspirational at personal level. Further, this work will be of immense help to the young scholars pursuing genuine research in the same field. It is an attempt towards eradication of significance of the present generation on the origin and historical progress of the 'Jat Race'. Mr. Dahiya's writing is not only tradition based on an antiquity; rather it is a historical reality; it is substantiated by scientific, technical and even biblical scholars of the ancient times. Dahiya's research is almost true with the biblical history and there is no doubt about it. In fact, it is the first serious attempt concerning the history of Jats. Earlier the clan had been associated with Rajputs and identification has not been defined of the word (*Jaat*). The author has explained the etymology of the word in detail, their original land, their migration around from place to place at different intervals in the long span of history. The present work is not limited and confine to *Jaats*, rather it speaks about the culture, civilization of the religions that are in surrounding land then ruled by the Aryans. There is urgent need to revise the edition because it deals along with the history, anthropology and linguistic aspects as well. It is informative work about the *Jaat* community. The book is really of great value for the *Jaats*. It is most authenticated, based on true and rare facts, not given earlier in any other scholarly work. It is really a master piece and can be used as reference book in future. For conceptualizing, planning and preparing this treasure of knowledge the author really deserves congratulations. The author invested his valuable time, energy and even wealth in preparing and publishing the present work. It must prove immensely advantageous to the future young generations in particular. However, the title cover page has not been designed well. But this book is full of detailed information regarding *Jaat* history, their origin and subsequent progress with full of references which reflect the authenticity of the text. The present work covers interesting aspects of early development of civilization and Indian culture in middle Asia, particularly early *Jaat* culture and civilization which seem to be connected with contemporary civilization and found to be as old as other civilizations. Interestingly, the author has covered excellent terminology used from time to time and their progressive link to modern terminology. Thus the author deserves all sorts of appreciation for his hard work and interest in such an important subject. Mr. Dahiya is one of the serious writers of new school of scientific history of the country. His non-conventional mode of writing and presenting history with evidences from very obscure and remote references though some times difficult to follow, but is essential to maintain distinction from the conventional approach of distorted

and story telling history mythology. It is in fact beyond doubt that the *Jaat/Juts, Ahirs, Yadavs* as well as the *Santhals, Kols*, in Eastern part of the country are the decadents of the great race of the *Assura* people. The truth is to be recorded in several Indian languages in a dispassionate manner with enough evidences of different kinds like archaeology, new miasmatic, documental, anthropological, linguistic, epigraphy, cultural, religious, trade, etc. etc. available sufficiently all over the country.

Doubtlessly, the history of *Jaats* in India has received attention from imminent historians and scholars, both European and Indian since the beginning of 19th century. It is, however, a pity that no serious effort has ever been made to connect them with the Indus Valley Civilization or their counter part in Central Asian Land as well as the country of the Middle East. The present work is really a highly researched study. It is based on miscellaneous sources, though not given in the form of bibliography or footnotes, but are available in different languages in the world. Not only the literary sources have been used, rather the report of archaeological findings of different countries had also been taken. The author, in this writing is having multi-disciplinary approach. History is a dynamic study and student of history is not content only to repeat what the scholars of preceeding generations uttered or stated. Mr. Dahiya acts rather as a recoverer of historical facts and tries to delineate the actual picture, filling gaps left by the predecessors. He brings to light what is now. His work is expected to stir deliberation on the role performed by *Jaats* in the history since the times of Indus Valley Civilization. I think he is the first writer who has established *Jaats'* relations with Indus, *Sumer* and with the *Jaats* of Iran.

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BOOK-REVIEW-III

Credit, Rural Debt And The Punjab Peasantry 1849-1947,
by Sukhdev Singh Sohal, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2012,
pp. i-viii+203, Price Rs.200/-

Examination and evaluation of objective of the British colonialism still exists as fascinating yet debatable arena of historical scholarship. The economic transformation under the new control mechanism forms the second major component of this interest. Viewing from the Marxist perspective it assumes particular significance in order to understand the character of emerging class formation and its relationship with the state. Dr. Sukhdev Singh Sohal's attempt also falls in this category through understanding of the change brought about by the new political order and its consequent ramifications.

The scholar has taken up a crucial issue of credit in rural society under colonial circumstances. His study includes the causes and extent of rural credit, co-operation credit, the world economic depression and its effects, views of British administrators on peasantry both in their surveys and writings, the myth of existence of peasant proprietorship along with nationalist critique of colonial economy.

While investigating causes of rural debt and categories of lenders the author emphasized that British policies in the Punjab had enabled the money-lenders to 'increase their numbers and also rise in social and financial scale.' That the money-lender controlled not only the sale of village crops but purchase of necessities from outside.

To address the problem of monetary debt of the rural peasantry the British administrators evolved a policy. But it lack in many ways and indirectly benefitted the money-lenders. Both commercialization of agriculture and land along with the revenue policy helped the non-official credit agencies. There is focus on the machinations of exploitation both by non-agricultural and agricultural money-lenders. In fact, the improved agricultural production, high prices of produce and land and possibility of securing land transfer through legal action encouraged the money-lending classes to take advantage of the helplessness of the peasant. On the other, fixed revenue and rigidity of its collection along with absence of alternative framework from relief to the

distressed peasant led to the growth of exploitation by the lending agencies. The judicial system merely facilitated land transfers.

The cooperative credit was not without short-comings and despite it the money-lending flourished. The Punjab Land Alienation Act strengthened the agricultural money-lenders. The depression in the 1920's further aggravated the crisis, although the situation created by the World War-II slightly benefitted some peasant classes. It resulted in increase of land mortgages and sales with social and political repercussions. The rural surveys also corroborated the same fact and also the differentiated structure of the land holding classes. However, the beneficiaries constituted the money-lenders and landlords.

Yet, the myths around benevolence, paternalism and blessings of the Raj were created and perpetuated through the academic writings by the British administrators and writers. But the officials had to grapple with the situations in order to maintain imperial stability. Indirectly, they admitted the nationalist critique of 'perpetuating imperial hold and to continue the process of extraction and exploitation.'

Thus, the critical analysis of the problems / issues of debt by the scholar has successfully established the exploitative character of British colonialism and blasted the myth of *Ma-baap*. Yet the review of literature should have been covered in order to broaden the frame-work and scope of the colonial economy. Also for better understanding of the famines in Punjab the author should have consulted the book '*Starvation and Colonialism*'. However, the study is a welcome addition to the on-going debate on colonialism in general and the economy in particular.

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